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England As It Is

British political life is in superficial confusion at the moment. The Parliament three years ago conferred on the electorate, by referendum, the decision about whether the state should remain a member of the European Union and be carried along by its development, or should withdraw from the European system, reassert its comprehensive independence and revert to the traditional British strategy of fostering divisions within Europe and nurturing those divisions towards conflict.

It might be that the issue put to referendum vote was not formally presented in those terms, but the history of British/European relations, which saturates British national culture, determined that that is how the matter was understood.

The electorate decided that the state should leave the EU.

The Government that put the issue to the electorate had been expecting a different result. It hoped for a strong showing of support for leaving the EU in order to strengthen its bargaining position against the EU and compel it to concede further reforms in the British interest, but was confident that there would not be a majority vote for leaving the EU.

The Government resigned when the result was announced. That is to say the Prime Minister, David Cameron, resigned. The Tory Party selected a new leader, Theresa May, who became Prime Minister. She was a Remainer. She called a General Election, presumably for the purpose of strengthening her Parliamentary base and carrying through a Brexit on terms which involved the least possible distancing of Britain from the EU. She lost the majority she inherited from Cameron and succeeded in forming a Government only with the support of the Ulster Unionists.

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The New Commission President

The Irish Times editorialised on the new Commission President, Ursula von der Leyen, and her programme on 18th July. Von der Leyen made two radical proposals—that the European Parliament should have the ‘*power of initiative*’: i.e. to initiate legislation for the EU; and that half of the Commission Ministers should be women, which means that she decides who should be a Commissioner, not the Member States.

If implemented these two commitments would wreck the long-time existing, founding, principles of the EU and the Treaty-based arrangements between the Commission, the Member States and the Parliament.

But the *Irish Times* did not see fit to even mention either of these proposals. Why? If it considers them unimportant, then it betrays a woeful ignorance of what the EU is.

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July 2019 Brexit summary

Dublin, Brussels and the other European capitals should hold position and play a waiting game over the Summer months and allow events in Britain to take their course, according to the London correspondent of the *Irish Times*, Denis Staunton (11 July). Good, if obvious, advice. Meanwhile Brexit developments continue to come thick and fast. This article will examine Boris Johnson's strategy, the change of guard at the leadership of the EU and the

Irish media debate about the Backstop.

Johnson's strategy

Johnson who is virtually certain to win the Tory Leadership contest and become UK Prime Minister on July 24th, voted for Theresa May's Deal the last time it came before the British Commons. But in the Leadership campaign his position has hardened. He now describes the Withdrawal Agreement as “*defunct*” and needing to be

“*disaggregated*” in order to be implemented.

According to Peter Foster writing in the *Daily Telegraph* (15 July), Johnson sees the first step of his Brexit strategy as guaranteeing in law the future rights of the 3.2 million EU citizens currently resident in the UK. His second step will be to suspend the £39 billion divorce payment pending the negotiation of a Free Trade Agreement with the EU. Third, he wants the Backstop removed

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In the days of Parnell and Redmond, the Irish Home Rule Party, with its block of 80 Westminster seats, occasionally held the balance-of-power when neither of the British Parties won an outright majority. That a tiny Unionist Party in Northern Ireland—Paisley's Party—should hold that position was the least probable of all the strange things that have happened in the past three years.

The balance-of-power in the British state was held by a miniscule Party from Ireland that was a British Party but was extraneous to the British political system.

Ulster Unionism is a political absurdity. "*Ulster*"—the Six County bit of it—has a Party which wants to be in the United Kingdom. It is organised separately for the purpose of being in the United Kingdom even though it has never, since the United Kingdom was formed, been anywhere but in the United Kingdom. Its "*Ulster*", we are told authoritatively, is as securely British as Finchley. But there is no Finchley Party

whose purpose is to be British, and which in the pursuit of this purpose organizes separately from the other British Parties.

This absurdity was imposed on Ulster in 1921 by the British Unionist Party which, in 1922, became the Tory Party.

If "*Ulster*" had not been excluded from the British political system in the early 1920s by the joint action of the Tory and Labour Parties, there would not now be an "*Ulster*" Party making life difficult for its creators at Westminster. Ulsterishness would have been heavily modified and woven into British political life by the action of the Tory and Labour Parties.

But it is pleasant to see chickens coming home to roost.

Teresa May's Government has been crippled by its dependence on the DUP. It could not act decisively. Its indecision gave the opportunity to all sources of discontent with the outcome of the referendum to express themselves and to feel their way through casuistic reasoning to the conviction that the right thing to do was prevent its implementation.

Parliament had referred the issue to direct decision by the electorate. This was done by general agreement. Then, at the Election, all parties committed themselves to implement the decision of the electorate. And all agreed to inform the EU that the two-year process of withdrawal had been triggered.

And so it fell to Parliament to do what the electorate decided should be done—and Parliament decided not to do it.

There had been agreement to put the matter to referendum. Now there was conspiracy, or collaboration, to restore to Parliament the sovereign authority which had been delegated to the populace, but to do so by means of verbal juggling which did not openly say that the populace was politically ignorant and had not measured up to the responsibility required of it.

Parliamentary authority was restored over the matter that Parliament had delegated to the populace. This was done by Judicial decision, which actually overruled the sovereignty of Parliament by making it subject to law.

Judge Jonathan Sumption, in his Reith Lectures, made a feeble defence of the Judicial action which gave Parliament the final say on any Brexit arrangements by saying the Judges only did for Parliament what it was proving incapable of doing for itself. But the point was not whether Parliament agreed with the decision made about it by the Judges, but that the Judges decided they had competence in the matter, and gave judgment, and Parliament accepted the judgment.

Simultaneously with this, Parliament asserted its independence of Government, and a number of MPs who should have known better, announced excitedly that the era of Parliamentary democracy had begun.

There is no necessary connection between Parliament and democracy. For most of its existence Parliament was not a democratically-composed body. It was the King's Council. It was a kind of representative body of nobles by means of which the Monarch governed.

In the previous Brexit, known as the English Reformation, the King, Henry VIII, consulted Parliament, but essentially he gave it instructions. He was making up a new religion and destroying the old. He expanded the nobility out of the plunder of the old religion, and it did his bidding.

A hundred years later Parliament rebelled against the King, Charles the First,

grandson of the martyred Mary Queen of Scots, who tried to establish a religious structure balanced between the old and the new. It made war on the Monarchy for eight years, executed the King in 1649, and established a Parliamentary system without a Monarch—a Republic, called a Commonwealth.

The English Parliamentary Republic—which was not a democracy, and never knew quite what it was—let loose its Puritan forces on the Irish to crush the Catholic Church, but in England it failed to establish a viable system of government. It failed, quickly, within a few years, but its appearance of life was eked out by Cromwell's dictatorship until 1659.

In 1660 the Monarchy was restored by General Monk, a Puritan, without resistance from the headless Parliament, and a number of leading rebels were executed as regicides.

The restored Monarchy, which was definitely a monarchy, continued until 1688, the year of *The Glorious Revolution*, the Year of Liberty.

The occasion of the Revolution was the establishment of freedom of religion by King James the Second. England was destined to be a Protestant state and its Protestant exclusiveness was asserted forcibly. But the Revolution was kept very severely in check by the nobility which organised it, who ensured that there was no repeat of 1641. The populace could sing *Lillibulero* and abuse *Papism* to its heart's content, but the State structure was to be authoritatively Anglican, rather than Puritan.

The political substance of the Revolution was the complete freedom of the nobility from monarchical restraints. The State structure maintained by the monarchy dissolved and its place was taken by networks of aristocratic families, each of which was sovereign in its own locality.

The figment of monarchy to which all were subject was maintained, but aristocrats were subject to no authority, and there was no overall State authority under which the populace might have rights.

That was the freedom established by the Glorious Revolution of 1688, and the Irish Parliament of the Penal Laws was its offshoot.

The main economic reform enacted by the Glorious Revolution was the throwing open of the Slave Trade to

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Fake Lies!

Mr. O'Sullivan makes several interesting comments in July's *Irish Political Review* regarding my book *Anatomy of a lie*. He tells us the following:

“Humans are more rationalising beings than rational ones. We tend to decide to support something for our own subjective reasons and then rationalise the decision afterwards ... Human beings tend to ignore data which contradicts things they have decided to believe in. Something that appears to be an effort to deceive the reader may actually be the writer deceiving himself.”

This brief guide to self deception will be at once crystal clear to everyone who has experience of deceiving themselves.

Mr. O' Sullivan explains that these Casement authors, first and without having examined the facts, decided what to believe about the diaries. Then they decided to ignore any facts which contradicted what they had decided to believe. And they decided this for their own 'subjective reasons'. Ergo, they *reasoned themselves* into self deception and then used their reason to rationalise the deception they had chosen. If they deceived their readers it was only an unintended consequence. That is clear.

Those who are not intimate with processes of self deception might find it strange how the authors were all afflicted by the same reasoned form of self deception and, stranger still, how this affliction overcame them only when they were dealing with the same subject matter, viz, the troublesome diaries.

The argument from honest belief is a valid legal defence only when the honesty is demonstrated. Mr. O'Sullivan has demonstrated the honesty of these authors by eliminating lies from our world and leaving us with honest self deception. This is very convincing and the world is a better place. What can one say? Fake truth has given way to fake lies? Your Honour, I tend to honestly believe that I tended to decide to honestly deceive myself for subjective reasons which are unknown to me. I now tend to honestly disbelieve myself.

Paul R. Hyde

Historians' Sources Not Always Reliable!

During Britain's second war on South Africa, film supposedly showing that territory was shot on London's Hampstead Heath.

In 1920 Pathe News collaborated with Hugh Pollard of Dublin Castle's Black Propaganda gang to show the aftermath of an invented ambush in Tralee. When shown in Dublin cinemas, the patrons recognised the Vico Road on Killiney Bay. Stills from the film are still regularly reproduced as genuine in books and documentaries, as are the lies told by Pollard's colleagues.

Pollard also produced false issues of Dail Eireann's *Irish Bulletin*, one of which was exposed as a forgery even in the House of Commons within days. The *Irish Bulletin* is a key document for *bona fide* historians and others, but it is a 'thought crime', as Orwell defined it, to breathe its name today.

I write this because of the suggestion that Brian O'Higgins was a "Holocaust Denier". I would suggest, that he treated British Newsreels, and other British 'news' with understandable scepticism.

Might I add that my Godfather, who graduated as a Doctor from UCC in the late 1930s, served with Britain's Royal Army Medical Corps. I'm told that he was the first Medic from that Corps into Belsen Concentration Camp on its liberation. I'm not a Holocaust Denier. Nor am I sceptical about the horrors unleashed by Nazis.

Donal Kennedy

England As It is

continued

private enterprise by anybody capable of engaging in it. This led to the *Triangular Trade* (England, West Africa, the Caribbean), the first form of the British world market within which Capitalism was hatched.

18th century England, after 1714, might be described as an aristocratic Republic disguised as a monarchy. But the disguise was not external to it—aside from the fact that the minor German Royalty, put on its throne in 1714, did not speak English. The monarchy was not only maintained as a kind of Holy Family for the populace to look up to, but also served a purpose in the psychology of the aristocracy which stage-managed it, as that aristocracy became a ruling class with ramifications downwards. This is a uniquely English institution amongst the major states.

Ireland was given a Parliament by the Glorious Revolution in 1691, and a British aristocracy to go along with it, but the aristocracy in Ireland did not function as a ruling class connected with the people, and therefore it became a nuisance which had to be put away.

The English aristocracy/ruling class existed for Parliamentary purposes in the form of a party system which reflected its complicated origins in 17th century revolution and counter-revolution. This is perhaps the thing that sets it most apart from the major European countries, whose parties were not inherited by the democracy from the aristocratic era, but were formed in the struggle against aristocracy.

The first English political party was the Puritan party formed for the second election of 1641. It wrenched power from the monarchy, established Parliamentary government, and failed to govern. The memory of it hung about in the undergrowth of the Restoration system of 1660, giving rise in the long run to the Whig/Tory division that was part of the autonomous aristocratic system masquerading as a monarchy in the 18th century.

And it was through the gradual drawing of widening circles of the population into this party system of the ruling class that the British Parliamentary franchise was democratised, with the outcome that British democracy was both monarchical in ways and aristocratic in ways.

The French Revolution abolished the aristocracy and declared democracy to be the only legitimate form of government, but it was able to maintain actual democratic government only for a few years because it did not have a party system and did not want one. (A party system, when you think about it, is an affront to democratic principle, as some British MPs came to see when they thought about it for the first time this year.)

The British ruling class rejected democracy as chaos, when France introduced it. Forty years later, in 1832, it reckoned that the party system would allow a stratum of the middle class to be safely introduced into the Parliamentary franchise. And, about fifty years after that, it began to think that general democracy would be practicable as the people at large were beginning to understand that their welfare, such as it was, depended on competent government of the Empire.

Actual democratisation was delayed, however, until it was made inevitable by the imposition of conscription in the war on Germany. Its rushed introduction was then a cause of disastrous British action on Europe in the Peace Settlement.

Democracy, once it was adopted in party-political form as a practicable arrangement when the populace came to see that it had a vested interest in Empire and turned away from Utopian schemes, was projected backward. The 1688 Revolution, which established representative government of the aristocracy, in the form of religious sectarianism, was conjured into a democratic event, as was the revolt of the Barons at Runnymede in the 14th century.

The story began to be that England, by and large, had always been a democracy of one sort or the other, except for a few years in the 1680s when James the Second subjected it to the tyranny of religious freedom.

Actual British democracy, which has shown itself to be the most durable democracy in Europe, is a construct of the late 19th century and early 20th. It has always been Imperialist, having been born in the greatest Empire the world has ever seen, at the moment when its power was greatest. And its form has always been the two-party system founded by the aristocracy, broadened gradually from 1832 to 1918 to include the adult population in the Parliamentary franchise.

In this system the Prime Minister (the King's first Minister) is the leader of the majority party in Parliament. He acts in the name of the monarch and with the authority of the monarch. That was the meaning in practice of what was called *Parliamentary sovereignty* for short, but was the *sovereignty of the Crown in Parliament*.

Parliamentary sovereignty in the literal sense was generally understood not to be practicable. It had been tried in the 1650s and failed, and this was widely understood until recently.

The current situation is that a Parliament which had lost its bearings undermined the practical form of its sovereignty by delegating decision on a major issue of State to the general electorate and then refused to implement the decision made by the electorate.

Its decision to refuse to implement the decision of the electorate was then spun into an assertion that the electorate, being ignorant, had voted for something that was not implementable.

An interesting thing about democracy in large, complicated states is that it works best when there is a low level of mass engagement with it, and it is not government of the people for the people by the people, but government with the consent of the governed.

A very substantial portion of the English electorate never votes. It leaves politics to political addicts. That is the important contribution which it makes. By its inaction it gives stabilising consent to the process.

The intensive voting propaganda of the Referendum campaign brought people out to vote who would not bother to vote in routine elections. It was a once in a lifetime event. And what it was about was not cost-benefit analysis of the economics of *leaving* or *remaining*, but the destiny of England.

Was it to be sucked into the world of the Treaty of Rome, from which Henry the Eighth had freed it, to be the mere equal of all those peoples whom it had so often saved from themselves by knocking their heads together—or were they to be *England still*?

They decided to be England still. But their representatives in Parliament refused to implement that decision on the terms of disengagement which the EU agreed with the May Government.

Three years after the Referendum, Britain is still as much within the EU as ever it was, but the major British party in the European Parliament displays its contempt for the Union and encourages dissent among the members of that Union, whilst British politics at home appears to be descending into anarchy, and there is speculation that the party system has been fatally damaged and that something else is taking its place.

Our guess is that the party system will spring back into life, as if by magic, once a Deal is done, and the purpose of the present carry-on—which is not unprecedented in British politics—is to exert maximum pressure on the European system, formally over the terms of disengagement, in order to initiate a process of fracturing within the EU.

In the British view political unity in Europe is against nature. And, if Europe is united, England cannot know what it is itself. That is the world view ingrained in English culture by five hundred years of history.

There is no pro-Europe party in Britain, least of all the Remain parties, which are *Remain and Reform* parties. Reform means diverting Europe from the course it set itself sixty years ago by remoulding it to accord with British interests. Remain means continuing the work so ably begun by Thatcher.

And in Europe the process of uniting was launched on anti-British grounds by statesmen who had come to understand the meaning of British balance-of-power strategy by being there while Britain made a mess of Europe after the 1914 War and guided it towards the 1939 War.

(The most pro-Europe statement made by a British politician during the past few years was made by a Tory, Chris Grayling, who said in effect that Europe had escaped from the British influence by establishing the Euro, and that it would be held together and increasingly given a structure by the requirements of maintaining the Euro, and that Britain should disengage from it in its own interest, let it be, and give itself a new orientation in the world.)

A thoroughgoing democracy would always seem to exist on the verge of bankruptcy, as the British does now. Where this is not the case, and the State is soundly and routinely based on stable

bodies of opinion, that indicates the effective action of institutions of the State on the flux of public opinion. The institutions of State which have done this in Britain are its hierarchically organised political parties—two of them with a third nipping at their heels—and its electoral system which is biased towards authority rather than representation.

British democracy is a product of a long history, conducted behind a powerful Navy, and guided by the principle that the best form of defence is attack. It actively interferes with others—for their own good—but never allows itself to be interfered with by others. Whatever it happened to be at any particular moment was the right thing to be and justified its interference with others who were different.

The question of democracy was raised in the 1640s and democracy was established in 1918. This long, slow development—which was historical in the sense of not being a process of implementation of a principle—was made possible by a great ballast of deference on the part of the populace. And that deference was continued into the democratic system.

Deference was sustained by a right of vulgar abuse. Grossly obscene libels on the Great and the Good were published for mass consumption by the English populace two and a half centuries ago, just as they are today. And they have now made their way into the middle class: a feminist commentator on BBC's *Newsnight* suggested that much of Boris Johnson's performance was just "*Willy-wagging*".

English democracy was a domestic historical development within the Empire. It was not extended to the Empire. But, once established, it was presented as a universal for propaganda purposes.

A kind of practical democracy evolved in England over a long period. England then presented it as a scientific formula. Like a chemical formula it could be put into effect on pieces of matter anywhere. And, if it was put in place and did not work, that could only be because Evil and Corrupt forces were sabotaging it. And, of course, that called for intervention to put it right.

Democratism has become a very useful instrument of subversion of states which are not toeing the Ameranglian line.

Europe is in a very early stage of its development. It does not quite know what it is to be. Its origins are lost in obscurity. They are very recent and very accessible but it dare not think about them because they are thick with ethnic cleansing and genocide—and we don't refer to the Fascist era!

It is living in a false ideology of itself. It has lost the coherence of its founders. It is apparently fragile. Britain is putting it to the test, pitting its substantial democracy against what it can only see as the toy-town democracy of Europe.

The Irish state, which detached itself from British foreign policy in 1932, ought to be a source of memory in Europe, stiffening its resolve by keeping alive the spirit of Adenauer and De Gaulle. But, alas!, the Irish state has been in flight from the memory of itself for two generations.

EU Commission President

continued

The paper explained that, because her ratification was subject to the Parliament which is now fragmented, she was "*forced her to cobble together a policy platform at short notice*". Indeed! But that will be the recurring and permanent state of the EU Commission Presidency, cobbling policies together, if the present arrangement with the Parliament continues to which the Commission has made itself beholden.

The European Parliament is a pretend Parliament. Parliaments worthy of the name are instruments of a State, and accordingly have appropriate legislative and executive powers. They are the products, not the initiators, of states. States are not voted into existence by Parliaments. They are manufactured and that was the function of the Commission. If it's not that, what is it? It is nothing, and that would be the outcome of von de Leyen's proposals.

The Irish Times comes to a very different conclusion:

"The more long-term problem suggested by von der Leyen's struggle for votes is that she could find it difficult to form a working majority for her policy plans. Not only is the parliament more fragmented than ever but, as Tuesday's vote suggests, the big groups cannot count on all their members falling into line. The result of a more splintered, independent-minded parliament would be a weaker commission."

The reverse is true! Divisions within the European Parliament are to be *welcomed* by the Commission, if it was functioning as it should. In that situation, they would facilitate the functioning of a stronger Commission. Unfortunately it has compromised its authority with the Parliament—a situation exacerbated by its new President who has proposed even greater dilution of Commission authority. As a result, she will have to become even more attuned to the whims of Parliament.

For example, surely it will not be long before the LBGT community will demand that Member States include a member in their nomination for Commissioner. And, if politics was all about fairness, that is unanswerable.

Jack Lane

July Brexit Summary

continued

from the Agreement and all affected Border arrangements to be settled in the context of the Free Trade Agreement. And fourth, he wants to see UK preparations for a No Deal disorderly Brexit pursued confidently. Against the charge that this strategy will result in No Deal, Johnson's answer is that he is fully confident that the European Council will recognise the economic damage facing the EU economies (especially the Irish economy), and will climb down from its current insistence that the negotiations are over.

The idea that these tactics are mere demagoguery arising from the needs of the Leadership contest is questionable. A more likely explanation is that the contest concentrated minds, among Tory members as much as the campaign planners. Essentially the Johnson strategy is a re-statement of the original UK negotiating position. The thinking seems to be that, if this leads to a crash-out exit, so be it; Johnson will lay the blame on EU/Irish intransigence; in any case he will be strengthening his negotiating hand.

Like Theresa May, Johnson faces the opposition of the anti-Brexit camp in his own party but, unlike her, he can count on the united support of the soft and hard Brexiters. But what tactics can we expect from the Tory Remainers? Denis Staunton believes that the position of people like Dominic Grieve will be strengthened when a number of current Ministers

are returned to the back benches after Johnson takes over; Grieve has already managed to get an Amendment passed which has the aim of preventing the Prime Minister from suspending Parliament.

This, however, may be wishful thinking. Following the European Elections, and the likely victory of Johnson, the entire anti-Brexit constituency has been weakened. The Remainers are within their rights in seeking to thwart Brexit, since they have substantial minority support in the country, and the success of their project is still possible, but responsibility for the deadlock lies with them. (It is they who reject the Referendum result), and the deadlock cannot continue indefinitely. If legalistic machinations from Grieve and others continue to be the order of the day, the democratic case for proroguing Parliament will surely increase. And, if this is blocked by Parliament, a General Election fought on respecting the Brexit mandate will presumably be the only option.

CHANGES AT THE TOP IN THE EU

The four top EU jobs will be filled as follows: former German Christian Democrat Minister Ursula von der Leyen becomes President of the European Commission; former Belgian Premier and former Leader of the Francophone liberal Reformist Movement Charles Michel will be President of the European Council; Christine Lagarde will be President of the European Central Bank; and former Spanish Socialist Foreign Minister and erstwhile supporter of NATO Josep Borrel will be High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security.

At first glance these appointments seem to fit the pattern of the large EU National Governments keeping the Brussels institutions under tight control. Von der Leyen, one may surmise, is Merkel's nominee, and Michel has credentials that will appeal to Macron. But the appointments seem to reflect Merkel's conservatism, rather than the over-optimistic Europeanism of Macron. Allowing the EU to be governed in this way, at arm's length, by the German Chancellor and the French President is a recipe for incoherence at the top, not least because running Germany and France tend to be all-consuming responsibilities.

As Jack Lane argued in last month's *Irish Political Review* this question of the architecture of the EU's governance needs to be examined in a broad historical

context. He had a modest proposal for pushing things in the right direction: the Commission should re-establish the project to create an agreed history of Europe. Referring to the central importance of the Commission he said:

“The European project was initiated by an elite and no other means was possible. The elite created an ad hoc democratic structure based on the concept of the Commission—and the scheme worked, in contrast to many attempted supra-national bodies. There was an inevitable tension between the Commission and the nation states, as it was both of the states and a potential replacement to those states, with a Commission President being in reality a President of Europe in a future state. This was a unique way to try to create a State and the tensions and conflicts were managed successfully for decades. The Jury is now out on whether it will continue to succeed. Without the Commission developing into the central authority, the project was in trouble...”

(The Spectre Haunting Europe, July 2019 Irish Political Review)

On Brexit, von der Leyen has expressed a willingness to provide a further extension to the UK, not a gesture that Jean Claude Juncker would have made. If the President elect of the Commission has illusions about forging a reconciliation with the UK, her term of Office will be a disaster for the EU; all the solidarity gains achieved by Michel Barnier will be put to nought.

However, it is early days. There are reports that von der Leyen was a principled Social Affairs Minister, strengthening pro-family legislation and welfare supports to allow women to give up work while rearing children, including adjusting pension law so they didn't suffer as a result. We can only hope that she retains something of the traditional Christian Democratic commitment to realising the European Project.

It is difficult to read the significance of the other appointments. As head of the International Monetary Fund, Lagarde was critical of the Eurozone's response to the Euro crisis, but will she act to make good the lessons of the Greek crisis? Probably not. Borrel is pro-NATO and an opponent of Catalan independence but, on the positive side, his high profile criticism of the unsuccessful US intervention in Venezuela drew the ire of the Trump Administration.

THE BACKSTOP DEBATE
IN THE IRISH MEDIA

Sunday Independent columnist Eoghan Harris had this to say about the Backstop debate in Ireland:

“Last week, the backstop began to blow up in Leo Varadkar’s face where it politically matters most—in mainstream Irish media.

Five top political journalists—none of whom work for RTE—wondered if we should think about a time-limit compromise to save our country. Dan O’Brien and myself have been doing the same in the *Sunday Independent*—since last December.

In the past six months, more than half my columns warned that the backstop was backing the British into a corner and would cause a crash-out.

Like Dr Frankenstein in Mary Shelley’s story, Dr Varadkar’s backstop has created the Boris Johnson monster who may politically destroy his creator. But our politicians and media were too busy sneering at the suicidal Brits to notice that it was our beloved backstop that was driving them over the cliffs—and that we were shackled to them.

Dan O’Brien and myself should not have been alone in sounding these warnings. The main value of a media is to speak truth to power—especially to the power of consensus.

Luckily for the future of our country, the privately owned print and broadcasting media finally found its voice last week” (*Sunday Independent*, 7 July 2019).

Harris likes to spin political events as mini dramas, with himself playing the leading roles. His self-serving and insular take on the Backstop needs to be answered but first, a word of explanation is needed on how the Irish media works. Hopefully this will be useful to those members of the European Commission, tasked with following Irish developments, as background information for the Brexit negotiations.

The practice since Independence has been for most Irish newspapers to hold in varying degrees to a pro-British orientation. The exception was the *Irish Press* which was established in the 1930s by de Valera with the specific purpose of countering anti-national propaganda. Sadly, the *Irish Press* lost some of its edge in the 1970s and, due to bad management, eventually collapsed in the 1990s. Its demise left the Irish media landscape smaller and less diverse.

The *Irish Times*, a traditionally

unionist paper, increased its circulation in the late 1960s by seeming to make peace with nationalist Ireland, but, even then, its owner, Major Thomas McDowell, was careful to maintain secretive links with the British State.

The *Independent* group of newspapers is traditionally associated with the anti-republican Fine Gael party as is the Cork-city based *Examiner*. In response to the Northern conflict, both the *Independent* and the *Examiner* gave vent to virulent anti-republicanism, at the same time becoming ever more open to the British worldview.

The move to a solidly pro-British orientation across the full range of Irish media, excepting the *Irish Press*, but including the broadcast media, was encouraged by the State. It gathered momentum as disenchantment with the Republican war increased. An example of its extremism was the strident denunciation by Eoghan Harris’s paper of the Hume-Adams talks, an initiative that laid the basis for the Peace Process. Following the Good Friday Agreement in 1998, anti-nationalism and the related phenomenon of neo-colonial reverence for British norms, took the form of a full-scale attack on Irish history and went into overdrive.

It was only in the run-up to the centenary commemorations of the 1916 Rising that substantial public disquiet about the official narrative became noticeable. The disconnect between media and populace is exemplified by an editorial proposal from the *Examiner* newspaper that we should mark the centenary by wearing poppies, the symbol associated with England’s war on Germany in 1914-18. Seen against the background of all this, Brexit was a most unwelcome slap in the face for the Irish media.

That the Irish Government decided in late 2016 to side unequivocally with Europe against Britain in the Brexit negotiations must have come as a shock to anti-nationalist ideologues like Eoghan Harris. A major effort was made in early 2017, fronted by the former Irish Ambassador to Canada, Ray Basset, to pull Ireland back into alignment with Britain, backed up by considerable media fire-power, but it came to nothing. From Harris’s anti-nationalist perspective, the years of hard work obliterating Irish historical memory, and in its place building a close Anglo Irish relationship, are now in danger of being negated. So

much by way of context for Harris’s attempt to get the Varadkar Government to capitulate to the British over the Backstop.

It would be easy to dismiss Eoghan Harris. His tabloid style depends on exaggeration and colourful polemic. His commentaries are below the standard of professionalism of the journalists he refers to above. Yet he has influence, especially with the current Fianna Fail leadership, and should be taken seriously. The case he makes about the Backstop is not without plausibility.

But there are manifold flaws in his line of argument. The Backstop has not caused the Tories to turn to Boris Johnson; rather it became necessary to replace May with a strong Brexiteer because of May’s error-prone record and because of the Parliamentary machinations of Tory Remainers. Irish and EU insistence on guarantees to prevent the return of a Hard Border arose when it became clear that the British side had failed to notice that Brexit had negative implications for the island of Ireland and posed a threat to the Good Friday settlement. Preventing a Hard Border is not a “*manufactured*” grievance. Millions of people on either side of the Border will be adversely affected and, as testified by independent experts described in Tony Connolly’s excellent reports for RTE, the British position that technological solutions are possible does not stand up.

From the word go, the Brexit negotiations have been hamstrung by a failure of the two sides to understand each other, and the lion’s share of responsibility for the failure lies with an arrogance on the British side. As a way of trying to avoid a No Deal crash out, should Varadkar and Coveney capitulate to London’s unreal sense of entitlement in dealings with the EU? If the British get their way on the Backstop, what next will be demanded of the EU? A slippery slope to the collapse of the EU beckons, which the EU and the Irish Government have been right to recognise.

At the end of the day Harris and his various allies want a return, in their terms, to the good old days when Ireland seemed to be moving ever closer to Britain, when the traditional narrative of the independent Irish State was being thrashed and when Republicanism was increasingly reviled. Those days are gone, and tantrums from the likes of Harris should not be allowed to get in the way of the serious business of working out a stable relationship between the EU and post-Brexit Britain.

Dave Alvey

(Continuing our series on the events of 1919 with the help of the daily newspaper of the First Dail, the *Irish Bulletin*.)

LEST WE FORGET (8)

The following are Acts of Aggression committed in Ireland by the Military and Police of the usurping English Government as reported in the Daily Press for week ending September 27th. 1919 :-

Date September	22nd	23rd	24th	25th	26th	27th	Total
	43	6	17	4	13	120	203
Raids:-	-	1	-	9	5	1	16
Arrests:-	1	1	3	-	-	-	5
Sentences:-							
Armed	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Assaults:-	1	-	3	-	2	-	6
Courtmartials:-		9	4	7	-	40	71
Proclamations & Suppressions:-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-
Daily Totals:-	56	17	27	20	22	161	303

The Sentences imposed in the 5 cases mentioned above totalled 3 years, 1 month.

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Monday, September 22nd 1919.

Tuesday, September 23rd. 1919

Raids:- Some ten branches of the Cumann na mBan, (Irish Women's League), were raided by fully armed Police in Co. Tipperary. In Co. Roscommon similar raids took place on several branches of the same league. Armed police raided the residence of Mr. Peadar O' Hourihane, Irish Language Organiser, at Kinsale, Co. Cork, carrying away all letters and documents written in the Irish Language. Large forces of Military and Police raided three of the principal printing works in Dublin, Messrs P. Mahon; Cahill & Co. and the Wood Printing Press, dislocating the machinery. A similar raid took place upon the printing works of the "Dundalk Examiner", Co. Louth. At Roscrea and Clogheen, police raided five newspaper shops and confiscated part of the stock. At Dundalk, twelve newsagent's shops were raided and papers carried off. At Midleton, Co. Cork, armed police raided a newsagent's shop and took away all copies of Republican papers.

Sentences:- Mr. Frank Mooney, Tullamore, King's Co., was sentenced by a Crimes Court in that town to one month's imprisonment for "illegal drilling". Tipperary was suppressed by military and police. The farmers bringing supplies to the town were met by large bodies of troops accompanied by tanks and were turned back. At Thurles where the need for provisions is very great a similar action was taken by the English military, the farmers being driven back at the point of the bayonet. Some of the farmers were seized by the military and searched.

Courtmartial:- Christopher Quigley, 8 Lower Gloucester Street, Dublin was tried by Courtmartial at Dublin on a charge of being in possession of arms and ammunition.

Raids:- Police and military fully armed raided the offices of the "Midland Tribune", Birr, King's County. Police and military raided the Sinn Fein Club at Caheragh, Co. Cork. In the same county the armed forces also raided the houses of Mr. E. Goggin, Killeenleigh and Mr. H. McCartney, Clonclugger. At Midleton, Co. Cork, military raided and commandeered the Town Hall and the local Sinn Fein Club.

Arrests:- Mr. William Tannam, Rathfanham, Co. Dublin, was arrested on a charge of escaping from Mountjoy gaol, where he was serving a term for a political offence.

Sentence:- William Tannam was subsequently tried and was ordered to be imprisoned for three months to await trial at the Winter Assizes.

Proclamations and Suppressions:- The "Leader" another Dublin paper which published the Irish Self-Determination Loan Prospectus was suppressed as was also the "Midland Tribune", Birr, King's Co. for a like "offence". Pig Fair at Nenagh, Co. Tipperary. Trade has practically ceased in that town, which is completely in the hands of the military. An armoured car attended by strong forces of military and police raided a handball alley at Laffanbridge, Co. Tipperary, and suppressed a handball contest between teams representing Kilkenny and Tipperary. The market at Roscrea, Co. Tipperary, was suppressed as was also an Irish Language Festival at Midleton, Co. Cork. A Cinema show at Roscrea was also suppressed. An Irish Language Festival at Togher, Co. Cork was proclaimed but was held secretly close by. At Newmarket, Co. Cork, a large force of military and police accompanied by armoured cars and Red Cross wagons suppressed a sports meeting.

Militarism:- The "Manchester Guardian" of this date says "There is really no limit short of extermination of the Irish race to the policy of repression on which Lord French has

embarked". The same paper having described the present conditions in Ireland came to this conclusion:- "RUSSIA UNDER THE CZAR IN NOT TOO STRAINED A PARALLEL." The Most Rev. Dr. McRory, Bishop of Down and Connor writes:- "A furious attempt in the best Prussian style is being made under the guise of maintaining law and order to terrorise our people and crush the National spirit... the fine talk about freedom and the right of self-determination of small nations is drowned for us in the tramp of the Army of Occupation". The police all over the country are being armed with hand - grenades.

Wednesday, September 24th 1919.

Raids:- Some dozen houses were raided by armed police at Drumquin, Omagh, Co. Tyrone was forced by armed police and searched. The printing works of the "Limerick Leader", Limerick, was raided by armed police and military and the machinery dismantled. Two other printing works in that city - those of the "Limerick Echo" and the "Munster News" - were also raided and essential parts of the machinery confiscated. Armed police forced their way into the premises at Rearcross, Co. Tipperary where an Irish class was in progress and ordered the class to disperse. The class refused and the police left threatening further proceedings.

Sentences:- Andrew Healy, 173 Inchicore Road, Dublin, was sentenced by English Courtmartial to 12 months imprisonment with hard labour for being in possession of a Revolver. Jer. Mullane, Blarney Street, Cork, was sentenced to 12 months imprisonment with hard labour at an English Courtmartial for carrying a Revolver. John Kenny, Loughlane, Cloughjordan, Co. Tipperary was sentenced by English Courtmartial to 9 months imprisonment with hard labour for being in possession of "seditious literature".

Suppressions:- The English military have suppressed the entire Republican Press of Limerick City consisting in the "Munster News", "The Limerick Echo" and "The Limerick Leader". The suppression is the result of the publication by these papers of the prospectus of the Self-Determination Loan floated by the elected Government of Ireland. Armed military and police accompanied by tanks and armoured cars surrounded at night the town of Emly and prevented farmers from entering the town where a weekly fair was to have been held.

Manufactured Outrages:- A Sergeant and three Constables of the English controlled Constabulary in Ireland report that when returning to their barracks at Kilmihil, Co. Clare, they were ambushed by a large party of men and fired upon from both sides of the road. Not one of the four Constables was even scratched. Military are already being rushed to the source of the manufactured outrage.

Militarism:- The London "Daily Herald" of this date, commenting on the militarist regime in Ireland says:- "Ireland is already in despair. She is being driven to desperation". The "Manchester Guardian" of this date says:- "The symptoms of the disorder of the Irish Government and its complete estrangement from the governed are pretty clear all over the land".

Thursday, September 25th. 1919

Arrests:- Edward Foley, Galbally; Michael Shanahan, Glenlara, Michael Murphy, Knocklong and Patrick Maher, Knocklong, Co. Tipperary were arrested early yesterday morning by large forces of British military and Police and conveyed to Limerick gaol in motor lorries. At Limerick they were charged before a Resident Magistrate with being concerned in the murder of

Sergeant Peter Wallace and Constable Michael Enright on May 13th, 1919, when a prisoner being conveyed to Cork gaol was rescued. Denis and Patrick Neill, Cuoragh; John and Jerh. Sullivan, Crowhane; and Michael Sheehan, Inches, Co. Kerry, were arrested and charged at a special Court in Castletownbere with "unlawful assembly" at Crowhane on August 26th 1919. They were remanded on bail to the next Petty Sessions.

Suppressions:- The weekly market at Borrisokane, Co. Tipperary was prevented by British Military and Police. Templemore market was similarly suppressed. Yesterday morning British military and police entered the offices of Messrs J. Quinnell & Sons, Tralee and suppressed the "Kerry News"; "Kerry Weekly Reporter" and "Killarney Echo". Portions of the machinery which the papers were printed were taken away. Suppressions are ascribed to the publication of the prospectus of the National Loan. Shortly before 7 p.m. yesterday evening British military and police entered the offices of the "Dundalk Examiner" and suppressed the paper. The reason given was "the publication of seditious matter", the seditious matter being apparently the prospectus of the Dail Eireann Loan. The total number of Press suppressions since May 1918 is now 42.

Raids:- The residence of Eamonn Donnelly, Chief Sinn Fein Registration Agent in Ulster, Tullyard House, Armagh, has been raided several times in the past month. Registers, Lists of Claimants, for votes in the various divisions in Ulster, and many other documents were taken. A raid was made on the apartments of Professor O'Maille, Louisville House, Galway, by armed raiders and some private documents and papers removed.

Proclamation:- An Aeridheacht at Castletownroche was proclaimed on Sunday last. The town was occupied by military with an armoured car and an aeroplane hovered over the district apparently engaged in scouting.

Friday, September 26th. 1919

Courtmartials:- Patrick O'Keeffe, member of the Irish Parliament for North Cork, was tried by English Courtmartial at Ship St. Barracks, Dublin, yesterday, charged with "doing an act calculated to cause sedition" - by a speech in Charleville on May 11th 1919. The police witness admitted that he only took mental notes of the "seditious" speech. The decision of the Court will be announced later. Peter Ennis, Caretaker of Liberty Hall, Dublin, was charged at an English Courtmartial in Ship Street Barracks, with having in his possession a service rifle, an automatic pistol and some cartridges. These were found in a room in Liberty Hall by military and police during a raid on August 22nd 1919, when Ennis was arrested. He has been in custody since. The court found him not guilty and he was discharged.

Arrests:- In connection with a raid for arms by a party of masked men on the residence of Col. J. Kirkwood, Woodbrook, Carrick-on-Shannon the following have been arrested by the police:- Thomas Gilchrist, Michael Burns, Joseph Burns, Vincent Garry and Michael McGowan, Carrick-on-Shannon. Garry was subsequently released.

Raids:- The houses of the arrested men mentioned above were raided by police and searched. A revolver and flash-light were commandeered at Burns' residence and a large quantity of cartridges. was found. Two guns and a revolver were found at McGowan's. The houses of about six people in Boyle, Co. Roscommon were raided by police and rigorously searched.

Armed police raided the residence of Mr. W. J. Aherne, Middleton, Co. Cork, and searched Aherne and his brother. The house was minutely searched but nothing was found. The business premises of Mr., Castle Street, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary, was raided by police. A number of photographs were seized.

Saturday, September 27th. 1919.

Raids:- Following the raid on Col. Kirkwood’s house, Carrick-on-Shannon, British military and police scoured a wide area of Leitrim yesterday, searching a great number of houses. The house of Thomas McGowan, Toomna, Carrick-on-Shannon, was raided yesterday by the Crown Forces. A gun and some sticks of gelignite were found and commandeered. The premises of Mrs. McCarthy, Draper, Carrick-on-Shannon, were raided and searched. The house of James Healy, Publican, was also searched but nothing incriminating was found. Armed police entered Lisheen schoolhouse, Co. Cork while a meeting of Tugadown Sinn Fein Club was being held. Those present were charged with “unlawful assembly” and their names demanded. The

premises were thoroughly searched and some documents found. Later the police raided houses in Aughadown district. British military and police made many raids in Crowreagh, Savilmore and Savilbeg district, Co. Down. Literature and photographs were seized. British military and police raided all the farm houses in Tipperary district and commandeered all shot guns, including those for which permits had been obtained.

Arrests:- Thomas McGowan was arrested yesterday after the raid on his house.

Suppressions:- It is impossible to number the suppressions in Co. Tipperary. Even where permits had been sought in accordance with the Proclamation permission to hold fairs and markets has been refused. Sports of all kinds have been banned. Theatres work under temporary permits. Permits are refused for auctions. Clonmel markets are prohibited. Business is held up all over the county as a result of these measures. Templemore butter and egg market was completely held up by the military yesterday. A circus performance in Tipperary town on Thursday night was prohibited.

THE FOLLOWING ARE ACTS OF AGGRESSION COMMITTED IN IRELAND BY THE MILITARY AND POLICE OF THE USURPING ENGLISH GOVERNMENT AS REPORTED IN THE DAILY PRESS FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 4th , '19.

Date:-Sept. & October	29th	30th	Oct. 1st.	2nd	3rd	4th	Total.
Raids:-	53	1	14	-	2	-	70
Arrests:-	-	7	2	5	-	1	15
	-	1	1	1	-	1	4
	3	4	3	1	3	2	16
	1	2	1	-	200	-	203
	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Daily Totals:-	56	15	21	8	205	4	309

Monday, September 29th. 1919

Raids:- Police and Military raided upwards of fifty houses in the neighbourhood of Berrings, Co. Cork. The house at Dysart, Co. Roscommon of Mr. Denis J. Kelly, Vice-Chairman of the Roscommon County Council was forcibly entered by police during his absence and searched. In the same district the houses of Messrs. John J. Geoghegan and Patrick Murray were similarly raided and searched.

Proclamations and Suppression:- Markets were suppressed in many parts of Co. Tipperary including the fairs arranged to be held at Carrick-on-Suir, Nenagh, Clonmel, all of which towns were occupied by large bodies of troops who prohibited the farmers from bringing supplies to the townspeople. The sufferings of the poor throughout the entire county are now very great as hardly any food or fuel is allowed to reach them.

Treatment of Prisoners:- Miss Catherine McCormack of Caron, Co. Clare, was released from Mountjoy jail, Dublin, in broken health. Twenty-six political prisoners from Cork jail

where they had been in solitary confinement for nine months, were removed to Mountjoy Jail, Dublin, some of them in a state of collapse.

Tuesday, September 30th, 1919.

Raids:- Military and police raided and took possession of the Ball-alley at Laffanbridge, Co. Tipperary, where handball contests were about to be held.

Arrests:
- Denis and Daniel Looney and John Scanlon, all of Donoughmore, Co. Cork; Owen McCarthy Firmount; Timothy Connell, Kilmartin and Daniel Moynihan, Ballycunningham, all in Cork County were arrested on a charge of endeavouring to obtain arms. Michael Aherne, Clonakilty, Co. Cork, was arrested on an unknown political charge and brought to Cork jail.

Sentence:- Charles Gildea, Derry, was fined £3 for defending himself against a detective who overpowered him and searched his pockets.

Proclamations:- At Loughinisland, Co. Down, the English Military authorities proclaimed a Republican meeting. A large body of English troops raided and suppressed a sports meeting at Thurles, Co. Tipperary, in which town the usual weekly market was also suppressed. At Dundrum, in the same county, a fete to procure funds for carrying on the local schools was suppressed by large forces of military and police fully armed.

Armed Assaults:- Armed police suddenly attacked the local band at Newmarket, Co. Cork, which was parading the streets of the town. Many of the bandsmen were seriously injured. Police and military fully armed held up country folk bringing supplies to Thurles, Co. Tipperary and, having overpowered them, searched them.

Wednesday, October 1st. 1919.

Raids:- At Midleton, Co. Cork, armed police raided twelve houses. The houses of Mr. E. T. Keane and Alderman J. Nowlan, Kilkenny, were raided by military and police.

Arrests:- Alderman James Nowlan, President of the Gaelic Athletic Association was arrested by military and police at Kilkenny City in the early morning. Mr. E. T. Keane, Editor of the "Kilkenny People" was similarly arrested.

Sentences:- Christopher Quigley, Lower Gloucester Street, Dublin, was sentenced by Courtmartial to 12 months imprisonment for procuring arms. A hurling contest at Tulla, Co. Clare, was proclaimed and suppressed by military and police. A hurling contest at Toeni, Co. Tipperary, was also suppressed. At Newcestown, Co. Cork, an Irish Language festival was suppressed by English military and police who raided and occupied the ground.

Armed Assault:- At Ballynahinch, Co. Down, Rev. Fr. Denis Cahill was surrounded by armed police and being overpowered had his pockets searched.

Thursday, October 2nd. 1919.

Arrests:- Five men whose names have not transpired were arrested at Bochel, Tannaghmore, Co. Down, for taking part in a proclaimed language festival.

Sentences:- William Shaughnessy, Cathedral Street, Ennis, Co. Clare, was tried by courtmartial at Limerick and was sentenced to 17 days imprisonment with hard labour for endeavouring to procure arms.

Court martial:- Mr. Richard A. Johnston, University Hall, Earlsfort Terrace, Dublin was tried by courtmartial at Ship Street Barracks, Dublin, on a charge of possessing parts of a revolver and five cartridges.

Suppressions:- Military and police raided the printing works of the "Sligo Nationalist" dismantled the machinery and suppressed the paper.

Friday, October 3rd. 1919.

Suppressions:- The weekly corn market in Cashel was prevented by the British Authorities last Wednesday. The marketers had sent in a request for a permit which was refused. In reply to a request for a permit to hold fairs and markets, Nenagh U.D.C. received notice from the Co. Inspector of the R.I.C. that none would be allowed. Persons bringing butter to the market in Carrick-on-Suir were held up by armed police.

Armed Assault:- The market in Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipper-

ary, was prevented by members of the army of occupation.

Militarism:- British military have requisitioned the use of the Bantry Guardians Board-room, and have informed the Guardians that they should hold their meetings elsewhere. Hand-printed posters calling on the people to support the Dail Eireann Loan were torn down by the police.

Raids:- W. O'Grady, Hairdresser, Wicklow, having failed to remove a full-page advertisement of the Dail Eireann Loan, which was adhered to the window, the Constabulary raided the premises and completely defaced it with their penknives. They warned O'Grady of the consequences of placing another in the window. British military raided and searched a drapery establishment in Rostrevor, Co. Down.

Saturday, October 4th. 1919.

Suppressions:- The Lord Justices refused a permit for the holding of a fair in Clonmel. British military and police were posted at the entrances to the town to prevent any attempt to hold the fair. British military and police also occupied the approaches to Thurles and turned back the people who were bringing pigs to the fortnightly market.

Arrest:- Charles Bradley, Herbert Street, Belfast, was arrested on a charge of having in his possession of a canister of gunpowder and 59 pinfire revolver cartridges for which he had no licence.

Sentence:- Tried on above charge, Charles Bradley was fined 40/- and costs.

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Travels And Some Reflections

This summer we both decided to throw caution to the winds and for most of July we went inter-railing in Switzerland with a quick foray into Milan for our La Scala special once in a lifetime interlude. And because of all this rather hectic travel, I paused my research on both topics that I have been writing about in the Irish Political Review for some time now, the one on Clair Wills and latterly Fergal Keane and Martin Mansergh. I will revisit them in the next issue but in the meantime let me offer you some reflections from a foreign clime.

We could never have expected the terrible heat-wave, especially as Switzerland has temperatures very like Ireland varying from 19C to 24C in the summer. We were scorched and still feel the effects of it all—sometimes we felt punch-drunk from dehydration and heat exhaustion. And the travel decisions made at our kitchen table at home translated into a very pacy travel schedule that was almost beyond endurance.

Ask anyone what they know about Switzerland and they'll usually answer something about the mountains and Toblerone chocolate. And indeed beyond their famous canton system, I couldn't answer much more myself.

We kicked off by staying in Zurich for three days and what really hit me—beside the heat—was the number of foreigners especially Asian which we were to later realise were mostly Vietnamese. And, rather surprisingly, a lot of Muslims: the women with their headscarves and heavy black clothes surrounded by their children and their men with western-style light, sleeveless shirts and dark trousers. I looked at those women and wondered how they stuck the heat with such all enveloping clothes.

That night we dined in the hotel but the food was bland and very expensive. Thereafter we went out and bought the food and had it in our hotel room.

Our first visit was to St. Galen and the famous library which himself had often

spoken about and truly it was beautiful (that word doesn't do it justice!) and awed us both. Before we entered the library we all had to put on the famous puttee slippers over our shoes so that as we walked around, we were also shining the lovely old floor tiles. First was the celestial/earth globe situated just inside the entrance and then the books and manuscripts all laid out in a fashion that was so easy to navigate. There were the big manuscripts and then the miniature ones which presumably were for travelling and reading the holy office. The pamphlet put it best:

"In 612 A.D. Gallus found his way to the shores of Lake Constance with other Irish monks and settled into seclusion within the high Steinach valley. His cell and oratory led to the beginning of a small settlement... His testimony of faith attracted more and more people until his death around 650 A.D. when he was buried in the oratory within his cell. Today his tomb is located beneath the high altar in the Gallus crypt, erected 837-39... In 719, the priest Otmar of Raetia was appointed to form a monastic community from the hermit settlement around Gallus' grave.

He adopted the rules of the Benedictines and became the first abbot of the rapidly thriving monastery. He was famous not only for his building activities but also for his care of the poor and sick. Due to political turmoil, he was exiled to the island of Werd, where he died in 759. His remains are housed at the west end of the cathedral in the St. Otmar crypt, where former bishops of St. Gallen are also laid to rest."

For me, the highlight was definitely the library, where to see again and again the acknowledgment of the "*Irish monk*" and "*Irishmen*" almost brought tears to my eyes. St. Gallen Cathedral is a Baroque treasure and rightly along with the abbey precinct is a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

The town itself was very quiet and we had a lovely repast in a café in the precincts of the Cathedral where we sat down to reflect on our heritage (not the one that is at present heralded by our State) and spoke quietly about the treasures that Europe holds from Ireland. Isn't it something that we have to travel so far to see our authentic Irish past and

the glories of our Celtic civilisation?

The next day we hid out in our hotel room endeavouring to be comfortable in such heat and only later on in the afternoon went to visit the Gross Minster in the old part of Zurich. It was in this great church that Ulrich Zwingli preached the Reformation. But it was in St. Gallen Library that we saw the destructiveness of that event where both Zurich and Bern looted a lot of the contents of the Abbey and when pacts were drawn up finally, Bern returned the stolen loot but Zurich only gave back some of it and to this day are holding on to the more valuable treasures despite the terms of the treaties following the religious wars.

After that we set off for Milan and three hours later arrived bedraggled and taxied to our hotel where we barely refreshed ourselves, as we had a tour of the great Opera House booked specially and were already late for it, due to the Swiss train being 25 minutes late.

What can I say about the taxis of Milan? Indeed what can anyone say about all modes of transport in that city from cars, scooters, motor bikes, electric skates and even pedestrians? Our taxi-driver veered from one lane to another, hit his horn repeatedly, and shouted curses with arm/finger gestures to the point where I thought we'd never get out alive.

When we squealed to a stop outside La Scala, we both scrambled out and thanked our maker that we had made it after such an exhibition of Italian driving.

Alas the two gentlemen at the booth informed us that our tour was almost over and an elderly woman guard put her arms up against us lest we made a run to pass her. I begged, saying with plenty of gestures myself – all placatory I hasten to add—with tickets held aloft—and eventually after conversing among themselves, they called a young man to take us on a shortened version of the trip.

We really hit pay-dirt! The guide spoke fluent English and was very fervent about Opera as is of course himself. And we ended up getting the best tour ever with even a highly forbidden step up onto the great stage itself on which Caruso, McCormack, Callas, Pavarotti et al performed. And it was a huge stage—the biggest in Europe – one could turn two buses on it and even I could accept that this was indeed a sort of holy ground that could and did induce tears.

That night we attended the Opera and, after scorching back to the hotel, I was beginning to get used to the chaotic driving.

I remarked upon a great stone building and the taxi-driver told me it was the central railway station from which we had disembarked earlier. I wondered who had built it and was startled when again the taxi-driver intervened in English (I have no Italian but am great at gestures which is I am beginning to think part of the Italian language itself!) and proudly stated that Mussolini built it. That gave me quite a land and later on we learnt that there were still a lot of Italians especially in Northern Italy who revered Il Duce.

There was a huge police presence and even an Army truck to the side of La Scala during the performance of the Opera. Inside in the huge marble foyer, the security presence was formidable with lots of guns on the hips of the police and various other props like big batons, spray canisters etc.

The guide had taken us into the Royal Box, now renamed the Presidential Box, so perhaps some foreign dignitaries/or politicians were there which the young guide said it was used for now that Victor Emmanuel's Reign was over.

But still there remained many buildings and vias that bore his name so history has not been glossed over. Far from it—the guide told us of the bombing of La Scala during the Second World War and implied ever so suavely that it was the fault of the Americans.

Indeed, later on, when we met a young Irishman who was working for an Irish State company, he informed us about the history of the coffee drink *Café Americano*. During the Second World War, the American soldiers, were knocked out by the strength of the Italian coffee so they had to water it down and hence the name '*Café Americano*'.

Down in Kinsale today two men in the big local hotel asked for two coffees and back came the breezy acknowledgement: "*Right so, two Café Americanos*". One of the men said he hated that expression and he wanted a black coffee. As it happened, himself was there with them and told them the story of it's origins and made them all the more determined to ask for just "*black coffees*".

But, back to La Scala and the Opera, as they say in the best North-side Cork society and, yes, I admit I slept during the first half of the programme which was a little known piece by the Italian composer Scalieri. Himself woke me up for the interval and there was a lot of wealth on display. Huge diamonds and designer frocks galore—after all Milan is the fashion capital of the world and the Milanese were not going to let an occasion like this to stop them from showing off. And nearby the

great Italian fashion designer Armani had his flagship store and his impossibly rich and inaccessible 'Armani Palace Hotel'.

Of course during the interval, I flashed past many of these oh-so-languid people and bought our precious water at an exorbitant price. The second half was a one-act opera by Puccini. It was good but a little overwrought and the singing was lacklustre, but we were in the greatest Opera House in the world and these things didn't stop us from enjoying every minute.

Next day, we were off to the Doumo, that great mediaeval Cathedral, where the guards informed us we had to get tickets to enter. After queuing for these, we then had to rejoin the queue for the Cathedral in the heat of the sweltering day. And the guards were having fun sending ladies who were dressed skimpily off to buy gauzy coverlets (think raincoats) to their fury. But no dice—you wanted in—you obeyed the rules, as some Americans were informed to their especially loud vocal protestations.

I was delighted with this strategy and thought we could do with some of that at home where at Mass our dress code has gone out the window!

But the guards were then wandering everyone and of course it came to himself.

The wand reacted loudly and out came his mobile phone from his jacket. Still it shrilled and out came a pocket's worth of coins—all Swiss. The wand still shrieked and now I was beside myself with fury—the heat was relentless—and I intervened and told himself to get off his trousers and jacket altogether, at which the guard pointed his wand at me warningly but he let himself go through. I have noticed that Italian men seem to love bossy women and so, when I spread out my hands at length, he waved me through with a smile. *Una* point for Ireland!

But the paying to enter the Cathedral was an annoyance and I was mentally composing a letter to the Pope as this was against Christ's teachings.

Inside the vast Cathedral, with its mediaeval giftings from the great families of Milan and further a field, the Medici's, the Agnellies, the Borinis *et al*—one was just overawed completely.

As I went nearer to the Altar where I was barred from entry by locked ropings of gilt and velvet, I saw a man inside and waved him over and asked him why I—as a Catholic—could not access the Altar. He told me that I had entered the museum part where the upkeep of such a great building has to be paid for but there was another entrance for worshippers named the gate

of the Angels. (Of this name I can't be sure of as he was doing a lot of gesturing himself) but there was no payment there and I was overjoyed—the complaining letter to Pope Francis already mentally torn apart.

The Doumo Plaza was huge too as all the buildings surrounding the Cathedral were parts of it and was all so very vast. The Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris—before the awful fire—was a fully functioning Church where we always went to Mass whenever we were in Paris and it was always full to capacity. (One of my great moments there after Mass once was kissing the ring of the very shy and brilliant theologian Cardinal Jean-Marie Lustiger, the Jewish Catholic who was so close to Pope John Paul 11.) I think that two of Notre Dames would still not fill the Douma so huge is it.

After Milan, we set off by ECRail (Euro city rail as opposed to Intercity Rail) to Zermat, melting all the way, to see the huge Matterhorn Mountain. There in the foothills of this massive mountain with its snow firmly sitting atop—we finally stayed in a hotel that was family-owned and very welcoming.

The Hotel Berghoff was fabulous for a four star hotel. It has two swimming pools, saunas and lots of other delights but we were so exhausted that we ate and fell into our bed.

We did have drinks on our very own veranda (me—always water, himself—wine) and just looked at the majesty of Matterhorn.

I was so exhausted that I couldn't sleep and after midnight sometime got up and went out into the Berghoff garden and sat and looked at the mighty mountain, the sky (free of light pollution) gradually revealed itself to me in all its stary glory. The stillness filled me and it was there I truly encountered my God of all creation. That memory will live with me until my dying day.

Next day, we were off to Lucerne where the following day, we caught a ferry and went all the way to the canton of Uri, where William Tell was born, and which became the first republican canton in the world in the fourteenth century. Was Switzerland the first democratic republic in the world? Greece and Rome were certainly not democratic, slaves were not allowed to vote.

For himself, Uri was what he had always dreamt of and his delight was infectious. Three days later we were back in Zurich and the next day we flew by Swiss Air to Cork, to be met with the most pleasurable weather in the world. A light dewy rain and a 20C temperature was like a benediction after all the sun, heat and travel. Home, home at last!

Julianne Herlihy ©

Lest We Forget The 1974 Bombings:

Two Books Reviewed

Can a book of 33 ballads and 33 docu-sonnets, which strictly chronicles a life-after-life slaughter of the innocents, be described as a beautiful work of art? In the case of *'May Day 1974'* by Rachael Hegarty I have no hesitation in so describing it. The author's dedication reads:

"For the 34 people who lost their lives on the 17th of May 1974. For the families and friends who lost their loved ones. For the injured who lost limbs and bits of themselves. For the children who lost their innocence on that day. For those who never lost hope in finding justice."

In her Foreword, Hegarty explains:

"The 17th of May 1974 was the worst day of the Troubles. Three car bombs exploded in Dublin city centre, the first at 5.28pm on Parnell Street, the second at 5.30pm on Talbot Street and the third at 5.32pm on South Leinster Street. At 6.58pm another car bomb exploded, on North Road in Monaghan town. As a result of these four car bombs, 33 people died, as did a full-term baby, and almost 300 people were treated for injuries. Many more hundreds of witnesses saw the outcomes of this terrorist attack: dead bodies, dying men, women and children, decapitated corpses, mutilated limbs and a motherless toddler wandering the streets, too shocked to cry. People saw things that cannot be unseen. My mother, brother and I survived that day. We were crossing from Talbot Street to North Earl Street at the time of the second explosion. Ma threw me into the pram with my little brother and ran for our lives."

"This collection contains 33 ballads and 33 docu-sonnets to commemorate the dead. The ballads, which are named for each victim, are the products of my imagination. The short biographies of the victims come from Justice Barron's Reports. The docu-sonnets are crafted verbatim, except where small changes were needed for metre and form, hewn from bereaved families' testimonies in the public domain: Oireachtas statements, coroner's depositions, YouTube footage and a documentary, 'Hidden Hand: The Forgotten Massacre'. Even though eyewitnesses were able to identify the drivers of the stolen cars that carried the explosives, no one has ever been charged or brought to court. The grieving families and survivors are still awaiting a public inquiry, the truth and justice."

In her blurb on the back cover of Hegarty's book, Paula Meehan sums

up the author's fine achievement:

"Here is a profound recuperation and remembrance, centred on the victims of one of most shocking attacks on the Republic in recent history. The harrowing verbatim witness of the relatives is juxtaposed with reconstructions of the interior lives of those murdered. Their hopes and fears, their work lives and family lives, their dreams for their children and their friends, are imagined in lucent and empathetic poetry. This powerful book adds impetus to the long struggle by the relatives, with the selfless and tireless dedication of Margaret Urwin, to simply find out what happened, and to get justice for their lost loved ones. Here the dead cry out for truth in poems that return to us their beauty, their dignity and their magnificent humanity."

This is not a literary review, other than I would earnestly encourage people to read for themselves how beautifully crafted are Hegarty's imagined interior lives of the victims. My focus here is primarily on the thirst for justice represented by her book. The docu-sonnet in memory of Siobhán Roice, based on the January 2004 testimony from her father Edward to the Oireachtas Hearings on the Barron Report, contains the following lines:

"My wife and I were in our early fifties when Siobhán was murdered, or, I should say, when 33 people were slaughtered on Irish streets. My wife and I are now senior citizens, in our early eighties, still trying to get answers to the questions and the truth that has been denied to us. Would anybody, as a parent, not move every stone to get the answers? The truth is that justice has been denied to us for over the 30 years. As a parent, I appeal to the committee members to do something that they would not deny their own children if the situation were reversed."

And the docu-sonnet in memory of Anna Massey, based on the January 2004 testimony from her father Frank, contains the following lines:

"Our Anna was murdered in Leinster Street on the 17th of May 1974. We are bitterly disappointed in the failures of the Barron Report. Justice Barron's investigation was thwarted by lack of access to files in possession of the British govern-

ment or our gardai's missing files. A public inquiry is essential to establish the truth of what happened in the aftermath of 33 murders and the injuries of hundreds of people. On the night of the bombings the taoiseach, Liam Cosgrave, promised to leave no stone unturned until those responsible were brought to justice. Thirty years have not diminished the families' sorrow and frustration. I'm now 80 and have fought long and hard for justice for our Anna. This is probably my last opportunity to press my concerns but my family will continue to strive for the truth and seek justice for the forgotten."

Union headquarters at Liberty Hall had been the target of a bomb attack on 1st December 1972, while a second bomb murdered two bus workers, George Bradshaw and Thomas Duffy, in nearby Sackville Place that same night. At the same time, Fianna Fáil Taoiseach Jack Lynch's controversial and oppressive *Offences Against the State Bill* was being debated in Dáil Éireann, and that night's bombs ensured that the leader of the Fine Gael Opposition, Liam Cosgrave, could now marshal all his troops to guarantee that Bill's enactment.

On the afternoon of 20th January 1973, Sackville Place was yet again targeted for bombing, resulting in the murder of a third bus worker. I myself had been on the other side of O'Connell Street, manning the B&ICO literature stand at the GPO and selling a copy of the *'Irish Communist'* to a customer, when that 1973 car bomb which killed my fellow ITGWU member Thomas Douglas thunderously exploded, and the vivid sight of that car's roof and other bomb debris shooting up way above the roof of Clery's Stores is one that remains indelible in my memory.

But it was the late afternoon of 17th May 1974, which saw Dublin's deadliest bombings, when separate car bombs in Parnell Street, South Leinster Street and Talbot Street wiped out the lives of 26 civilians and a full term unborn child. That same evening, a car bomb in Monaghan town robbed a further seven people of their lives, with the resulting total death toll being the largest in any single day of the conflict which would not be brought to an end until the 1998 Good Friday Agreement.

Author Frank Connolly recalls being a witness to the aftermath of the 1974 bomb in South Leinster Street and assisting with the injured, and his recently published novel, *'A Conspiracy*

Of Lies, opens with the statement that “everyone remembers where they were at the time of the bombings, except those too young, too old or too dead”.

And a conspiracy it certainly was, which could so condition the invincible ignorance of a Fine Gael Junior Minister for Open Government, Patrick O’Donovan, that, in an interview with the *Irish Independent* two years ago, he sought to indict Sinn Féin with the rhetorical question: “What about the innocent children blown to smithereens indiscriminately in the likes of the Dublin-Monaghan bombings?”

His “facts” were, of course, quickly corrected by Justice for the Forgotten—that it was the loyalist UVF which had staged, not only the 1974 bombings, but those of 1972 and 1973 as well. But the UVF had not done so alone, and it is widely held that those bombings were masterminded by British Intelligence, which also provided the necessary technical expertise.

It had been the heroic efforts of *Irish Political Review* columnist John Morgan (Lt. Col. rtd.), in his book, *The Dublin/Monaghan Bombings 1974: A Military Analysis*, published by Athol Books in 2013, that raised all the necessary and detailed questions in its 248 pages. It is particularly poignant that John’s recent passing occurred less than three weeks after 45th anniversary of those bombings. And yet he remained extremely modest about his achievement.

As Frank Connolly related to me: “I attended John’s funeral. He was carried in and out of the church by members of the Defence Forces. There was a large attendance and no eulogy at his request.” His obituary in the July issue of this magazine was rightly entitled “A Stalwart Seeker For Truth And Fighter For Justice!”

But how to ensure that the historical facts of 1974 are kept before the public eye? Margaret Urwin and Justice for the Forgotten have relentlessly campaigned in that regard. But there is a significant section of young to middle aged among the Irish public that will remain unreached by what many of them might regard as “just” 45 year old history and just one more commemoration among many.

Rachael Hegarty’s book of poetry does much to ensure that the memory of those slaughtered will not be allowed to fade away, and she launched her book this past May 17th, the 45th anniversary to the very day of that murderous attack on the Republic, having movingly read some of those poems earlier that

morning during the commemorative ceremony at the Talbot Street memorial.

Simultaneously, Frank Connolly has found another antidote for historical amnesia by producing a thriller centred on a young man and woman, Joe and Angie, catapulted into first experiencing the trauma of the Bombings itself, next becoming aware of the nature of the conspiracy behind them, and then setting out to expose that conspiracy. Indeed Angie, the female protagonist, gives a fuller description than the book’s title when she nails it as “a conspiracy of agreed lies”.

Connolly’s novel approach to spreading public awareness of the historical truth—and the pun is my own—could, of course, have fallen flat on its face if his novel was not up to scratch in its own right. It, however, succeeds admirably as an exciting thriller, which also contains a tender love story. The historical truths are initially presented straight from the record—how the Cosgrave Coalition Government itself sought to deflect the searchlight away from the actual British culprits by winding down the Garda investigation after a mere three months, while the Fine Gael Minister for Justice, Paddy Cooney, and Labour’s Minister for Post & Telegraphs, Conor Cruise O’Brien, set about a diversionary rhetorical campaign to hold the IRA “ultimately” responsible for the Dublin/Monaghan Bombings. A conspiracy was indeed well underway.

Connolly describes the historical facts:

“Sloppy investigation of mass murder, destruction of evidence, missing notes and records. Wrong intelligence, sinister forces, political myopia. The gardaí handing over the forensic and ballistic evidence to the British Army at Lisburn. A police and security failure of epic proportions.”

Cooney is named and reported in the novel, but thereafter the politicians are fictionalised. Cooney’s counterpart in Fianna Fáil as its spokesperson on Home Affairs, who subsequently becomes Minister in the wake of Jack Lynch’s massive election victory in 1977, is a fictional character named Bob Clarke who is being politically blackmailed regarding his secret offshore accounts by sinister British Intelligence officers, operating from both the UK Foreign Office and its Dublin Embassy. Unashamedly frank with Clarke about Britain’s responsibility for the Dublin/Monaghan bombings, they seek to manipulate how the incoming Fianna Fáil Government will behave by threatening more of the same. Having been a witness to the Bombings himself, Joe is already thinking deeply in

1974 about the subsequent course of events, as rumour has it that—

“when the Irish Home Affairs Minister met his British counterpart at the high security meeting in Baldonnel in September, not a word was spoken about the bombings... For whatever reason, there’s no appetite in government to take on the bombers or to ask the Brits what they know.”

In the Spring of 1976, the Bistro for which Joe and Angie work, provides the catering for an event where they can witness the Minister in action:

“The occasion is an important speech made by the Home Affairs Minister, Patrick Cooney... provocatively entitled ‘Violence, Revolution and War’... ‘There are two sources of subversion in Ireland, the Provisional IRA and Official Sinn Féin’, Cooney thunders, ‘springing from a Sino-Hibernian version of the Communist Manifesto. Revolution and its techniques are international.’ Banging the rostrum, and raising his voice several octaves... Angie thinks he’s scary. She’s never been in a room full of grown men hooting and screeching during a forty-minute torrent of abuse hurled at enemies of the State.”

Angie overhears the British Embassy official Fenton, a fictional construct, enthuse “about the minister being so courageous, direct, no nonsense; that he’s going to root out the evil subversives and restore good relations between our two countries”. But then she also eavesdrop on Fenton threatening the press officer for Fianna Fáil’s Clarke:

“Those three big bangs in May two years ago really concentrated the minds of your people. And I imagine it won’t be the last time, if you don’t destroy those murdering IRA bastards soon.”

Angie goes on to wonder aloud to Joe—

“why the minister had not given his admiring audience any insight into who bombed Dublin that day. He spoke of a host of brutal killings that have recently numbed people across the country, and in England, but no mention was made of the single biggest loss of life in this city, or anywhere else on the island, since the troubles erupted.”

Joe replies:

“He was playing to the crowd, drumming up fear. Is it any wonder the Brits love him? No mention of the loyalists killing and bombing this town to bits. Blame everything on republicans. But from what you overheard, it seems to me like the Englishman was saying what a lot of people think. The dogs on the street be-

lieve his crowd had something to do with the Dublin bombs in '74... You heard how they love all the new security measures introduced by Cooney and his promise of even more. At the same time they've been working hard to deflect rumours that their agents, working with deranged loyalists, were the ones that actually conspired to wreck this town."

Later in 1976, another fictional construct, Richards of the British Foreign Office, is taped directly threatening the compromised Clarke:

"If you think I'm bad you should meet some of my friends in the service, the secret service I mean. They're prepared to take out the Labour government in Britain. Do you think they'd hesitate for a second if they wanted to take out yours, or you for that matter? Do you honestly think the loyalists could have done the '74 job on their own? Three bombs, high explosives, plastics, timed to go off within minutes of each other, on the route to the main train stations during a bus strike. One just a hundred yards or so from your excuse for a parliament. That's called military precision."

Quite a succinct summing up of John Morgan's findings!

All these characters are fictional, as are those in the media. The reader will nonetheless be bemused by portrayals of some of those fictionalised types 45 years back, such as the references to "a pliant security correspondent at the 'Independent'" and "the new book on the history of the Garda Síochána written by the sycophantic security correspondent".

But above all, the book is a racy thriller, which evokes the Dublin underworld of the time, and also graphically, if rather gruesomely, portrays the beatings-to-a-pulp tortures inflicted by the all-too-real Garda Heavy Gang in the wake of a burglary at Clarke's home. From chapter to chapter the narrative is filled with unfolding suspense, and the novel is to be highly recommended for that reason alone. And, if vacationing Government Ministers, whether Senior or Junior, need a break from reading official documents, they could do no better than turn to Frank Connolly's exciting thriller, while also becoming acquainted with some historical truths along the way.

Manus O'Riordan

in both organisations, would be the last to go if there were redundancies, and the first to get his job back if orders came in for more ships to be built by Harland & Wolff shipyard or more manufacturing machinery to be made in Mackie's Engineering, and the Sirocco Works. This caused friction amongst Protestants who either didn't want to be part of the Masons or Orange Order or who didn't have the right degrees in both organisations. Catholics didn't stand a chance.

I could never find out how the few Catholics in heavy industry got a chance for apprenticeships. Maybe they were just tokens. But, again, Ulster Unionism didn't particularly care about tokens or what the outside world thought about their discrimination. It was so confident in its future that the PM Basil Brooke (Lord Brookeborough) could disappear on a three month world tour.

I asked a few young Catholic apprentices in the shipyard how they managed to get into the shipyard but received no reply and an air of annoyance and the mute wish for me to leave them alone in this sea of Protestantism.

Tokenism was favoured by the communist Trade Union leaders. It might be odd to say but that's all they could do. They were basically the leaders of a Protestant-dominated Trade Union movement. To bring up the Catholic question in its fullness would be the end of them.

With our knowledge of the Two Nations situation in NI, any move by communist Trade Union leaders on the Catholic question would have meant putting their full weight behind that nationality. They did get the odd

Catholic youth an apprenticeship. A young Catholic member of the CPNI was recruited for training in the Fire Brigade, thanks to the communist leader of the Firemen's Union.

These CP leaders could over-rule what was then the personnel department. The Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, which had CPNI leadership, could force Catholics into monopoly Protestant jobs. Ironically, if the companies refused to take them on the grounds of religion, the unions could call a strike in which the Protestant workforce would obey.

A Union Card was very important to have in what was 100 per cent unionised jobs. It was your passport to further work. There was definitely no black-leg/scab labour in Belfast's heavy industry.

Freemasons!

I'm not particularly interested in freemasonry and it can continue as long as it wants as far as I'm concerned. Basically I don't even want to hear about it. My father was obsessed by it, feeling he had been denied work in the Belfast shipyard when it was masons first for the jobs, or being made redundant first because he wasn't a member.

So his moans and groans about it made me block out. But what made me angry about it was back in 1974 when in Belfast where a film of a script I had written was to be produced. (a very long story I won't relate here).

What annoyed me was that, meeting the second in command of Belfast BBC, being given a freemason's handshake. It made my blood boil to think he might have thought this script could have been accepted because I was a freemason.

I know there are some shady characters in freemasonry where coppers and criminals have been able to meet and where who one knows, and not what one knows, can be at the forefront of

membership. (Scotland Yard has its own Freemason Lodge, as have financial institutions and film studio senior staff.)

And how did I know about the freemason handshake? In the 1950s, at Speaker's Corner, in Hyde Park, there was a disgruntled former freemason preaching against its influence. He had run off (mimeo machined) small booklets which told you how to pass yourself off as a freemason, and they cost about a shilling for each degree exposed.

Someone in the crowd asked him why he wasn't dead because of giving away these secrets and his reply was that he was dead. Whatever job he was in was very subject to freemason membership and now he was black-listed and black-balled. He was living on starvation National Assistance.

Yes, there was the scourge of Freemasonry in the North's heavy industry. The Orange Order, very much like Freemasonry, had its various levels or chapters. A man having high ranking

Then there were the non-CPNI-led unions with their Mason membership/ Orange Order membership.

I don't think the CPNI Trade Union leaders would have been Masons. They were interested in Protestant workers who were neither Masons or Orange Order members. My Protestant father was one of those, and to the left, though in that environment they could be little else than be Protestant reformers.

I remember my father coming home one night from the shipyard and relating how every joiner working on D-Deck of a Union Castle Line passenger ship was of the left, while every joiner on the deck below, C-Deck, was either a Mason or a member of the Orange Order.

There were two ways of recruiting joiners. When you heard H&W shipyard was hiring, you went to a jetty on Musgrave Channel Road and stood with the crowd. A head foreman joiner, bowler-hat, nice suit and tie, most likely a Mason and member of the Orange Order, would be standing on a joiner's work-stool to scan the faces of the crowd. He would then point to who he wanted, and would go on like that until he had recruited up to 200 joiners. If he couldn't find enough familiar faces he would then, as far as I heard, phone the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers office, run by Billy Sinclair, secretary and CPNIEC member and ask him to send him maybe another fifty joiners. That's when Sinclair could pop in his token Catholics.

One of these was Joe Cahill, a well-known Republican, who was sent to the shipyard on two occasions Catholics kept quiet in heavy industry firms. If you allowed yourself to be bantered, then the Protestant tormentors would feel you had paid your dues and leave you alone.

Cahill contracted a lung disease while working in the shipyard. He sued and was awarded a number of thousands of pounds in compensation by Harland and Wolff.

Unfortunately the Republican Movement and the Connolly Association wasn't interest in Belfast's mighty industries and just dismissed them as Protestant territories. The Connolly Association's *Irish Democrat* image of a one-nation Ireland was of a donkey looking over a County Mayo stone-wall. If you did bring the subject up at meeting in the CA you were looked on as some kind of traitor, if you worked in Belfast heavy industry. Then it was back to milk-churning in Tipperary.

Looks like the present one-nation Communist Party, Northern Ireland is not going to look back on its chequered history. And equally de-industrialised NI, with its rising university student membership, isn't going to be interested either in the small details of human existence in these industries.

By a coincidence I got an email this morning from a former Belfast shipyard worker who lives in Vancouver. He was a Protestant, non-member of Masonry or Orange Order, a joiner who served his apprenticeship in H&W around the same time as I did. He later got himself into Trinity College and became a Presbyterian Minister, and later became a lecturer in literature at the University of British Columbia, which for a time had a great interest in Ulster Unionism, in

employing lecturers from Queen's Belfast.

Socialist in thinking, he is aware of what Masonry and the Orange Order was up to in Belfast heavy industry but has no knowledge of the workings of the Trade Union movement there, not having been involved in the CPNI. But he is very aware of the anti-Catholic discrimination practised then.

Another former shipyard worker I correspond with lives in Delaware, in the US. Also a former H&W joiner, a Protestant, also aware of anti-Catholic discrimination but still wonders what he could have done about it. His father was badly beaten-up when trying to help a Catholic colleague who had been thrown into the sea in a pogrom and had heavy ship's rivets thrown at him, during the early 1920s.

Wilson John Haire

Casement Controversy—

The Seen, The Unseen And The Disappeared

In his review of 'Anatomy of a lie' by Paul Hyde, *A Scotsman, an Englishman, an Irishman, and Casement Diary Discretion* (IPR June 2019), Tim Sullivan concludes that:

"Commentators, whatever their position on the authenticity question, referred to 'photographic representations' or else 'photographs' being shown along with typescripts. If merely typed matter was circulated, surely a good number of people would have twigged that most peculiar lacuna, whereby there was no evidence connecting the distinctive handwriting pattern of Casement, with the incriminating diary subject matter?"

There were indeed references to photographs being shown with the police typescripts but photos of what? Tim seems to assume that these photos must be genuine photos of what they purported to be simply because they were photos. But none of these are extant. Why? They might be the smoking gun if genuine and available. Some of the police typescripts are extant. And the police typescripts were definitely read by those shown them.

I think the best way to illustrate what happened is to take the only example I know of a person who described what they were shown and crucially *how* they were shown it (i.e., not given it) and another

person who tried hard to check the original diary(ies) and failed to do so; Alfred Noyes and John Quinn respectively. (Quinn was in New York, so he saw nothing that was in London and could not check anything.)

The only recorded example of the *showing* of police typescripts to people before Casement's execution is that described by Alfred Noyes, a highly regarded poet who became Chair of Poetry at Princeton University and "*was attached to the British Foreign Office*" throughout the period. Noyes never saw any diaries, only police typescripts and Hyde gives about 11 examples of showings in the book on pages 105-6 and these are all documented. There is no evidence of anyone then seeing the bound volume diaries.

Noyes described the event in a letter to *the Times*, 17th May 1956:

"In 1916 when I was doing some work in the News Department of the Foreign Office, a copy of the alleged 'diary' was placed upon my desk (by Stephen Gaselee, afterwards, Sir Stephen Gaselee, and K.C.M.G. Librarian of the Foreign Office). It was a typed not a photographic copy as Mr. MacColl says in his book. *It was left with me for a few minutes and was then somewhat hastily withdrawn. It was never in my possession.* I was merely one of the many to whom it was shown (as we now know) on the disgraceful

recommendation of the legal adviser to the Home Office. (Sir Ernley Blackwell). In my first revulsion of disgust at the things that had been shown me I naturally made the expected comment and this was incorporated in a brief paragraph in an article which was sent out, not by me but by the News Department, for propaganda purposes. That was my sole connection with the documents... In 1916 I had no doubt at all of the good faith of the Home Office." (*The Accusing Ghost* 1957, by Alfred Noyes. Emphasis in original.)

Later in his book he elaborates:

"In all the statements discouraging authentication appears the same kind of distortion of truth which I encountered in 1916, when one brief paragraph (mentioned in my letter to The Times) was published in America with false captions and even, as I learned years later, with additions, including the statement that I had "made search" to authenticate the diary—the very thing I was quite unable to do ... about the same time, the Associated Press representative was refusing on ethical grounds to be used for the same purpose" (ibid).

I interpret this to mean that Noyes recognised in 1957 that he was used in 1916; that he did not write the article attributed to him; and that his 1916 comment amounted to one brief paragraph and no more. The rest of the article text was written by others and attributed to Noyes since his name was known in the US. In other words, the article is a forgery—in broad daylight.

Noyes became engaged in a big propaganda exercise in support of the British war effort across America, lecturing in at least 200 cities. A part of this campaign was the article referred to above, that had his comment inserted and published under his name without his permission. It is available at: <https://panewsarchive.psu.edu/lccn/sn83045211/1916-08-31/ed-1/seq-10/>.

A small sample from it about Casement gives the flavour:

"And the chief leader of these rebels—I cannot print his own written confessions about himself, for they are filthy beyond all description. But I have seen and read them and they touch the lowest depths that human degradation has ever touched. Page after page of his diary would be an insult to a pig's trough to let the foul record touch it. The Irish will canonise these things at their own peril"

(*Philadelphia Public Ledger, Evening Edition*, 31 August 1916).

Noyes did not seek any original source material for the police typescripts,

for the same reason that many others did not—trust in the Government. That type of trust has not gone away. Noyes was later ashamed of what he had done and believed he had been misled.

In another context in his *Irish Political Review* piece, Tim Sullivan explains the syndrome another way: "*Humans are more rationalising beings than rational ones. We tend to decide to support something for our own subjective reasons and then rationalise the decision afterwards*".

That is precisely what Noyes and many others did with the police typescripts they were shown. And the rationalising was easily done. To them Casement was a political pervert of the first order, a condemned and self-confessed traitor in the middle of a vital war to defend the British Empire. It was quite natural to accept that what were then considered sexual perversions '*went with the territory*' of political perversion.

There was a well developed campaign led by Noel Pemberton Billing MP, that provoked the '*libel case of the century*', which elaborated this theory. If Britain lost the war, there was a ready-made '*stab in the back*' theory to explain defeat—homosexuality. It had sapped the moral fibre of the nation.

There was little questioning of the authenticity of the police typescripts shown in the UK, but this was not the case with John Quinn, one of America's top lawyers, a patron of the arts, a mover and shaker in Washington, personal friend of the British Ambassador, Spring Rice, and a personal friend of Casement whom he greatly admired. But, as a supporter of Britain, Quinn disagreed with Casement on the War. He was a very important opinion-maker in America, and he needed convincing when he heard about the Diary. So he demanded the originals, was given the run-around, and eventually shown photos of what was claimed to be extracts of the diary in Casement's handwriting. But photos and no context were not enough for Quinn, having a legal mind. He was not even allowed to take the photos for handwriting analysis. Casement had stayed with Quinn and he had plenty material to check the handwriting against.

Those photos have never been seen since then. The photos were shown to certain people but never published. Again, why not? They would have been lapped up by the '*popular press*', saved a lot of effort, and might have sealed a case for authenticity. But none are extant apparently!

Quinn saw "*a heap of photographs*" at the Embassy in Washington. That made them UK Government publications but they were all '*disappeared*'—which was an efficient operation in itself. I doubt if they will be found in the National Archives where they should be. Paul Hyde gives a very good description of how Quinn was deceived by confusion, pages 109-12. Some police typescripts have survived but they mean nothing. There is no evidence that they are copies of anything.

Tim says there is evidence of forgery but no proof. Equally there is no proof of authenticity and the evidence for authenticity is demonstrably weak. There is no evidence for the material existence of the Diaries in 1916. The documented evidence presented in '*Anatomy of a Lie*' is more than sufficient for a reasoned and impartial judgement.

No more evidence is likely to become available, though there are still a number of files that remain closed on the case. So what to do?

I once served on the jury of a very long case that was regularly interrupted by legal disputation. The Judge realised we were mystified by the evidence, the interruptions, the legal arguing and began his summing up with a piece of advice he probably rehearsed in many cases: "*Ladies and gentlemen of the Jury, what are the facts of this case? The facts of this case are what you believe them to be!*" (A rather frightening proposition after listening to the views of some jury members in that particular case. The defendant was acquitted on all charges.)

That means that you, dear reader, if you are interested in this case, (or the kind of problem that judges have to face), must put on a wig, become a judge and sum up the available evidence in this case. If you are studying law, make it your PhD or whatever the equivalent is.

Begin with the evidence in *Anatomy of a lie*.

Jack Lane

Check out the
Athol Books
sales site:
www.atholbooks-sales.org

A Scotsman, an Englishman, an Irishman, and Casement Diary Discretion

Reviewing *Anatomy of a Lie* by Paul R Hyde, Jack Lane in *Casement: The Gauntlet is Thrown! (Irish Political Review, June 2019)* referred to typescripts alone being shown about in 1916 when the furtive campaign to discredit Casement was underway. However, as already mentioned, there arises the question as to how efficacious such an approach could have been. Lack of direct evidence linking Casement to the incriminating matter via his distinctive personal handwriting could only have provoked suspicion. The objective was to convince; the very opposite of the nurturing of doubt. If typescripts alone were shown, then to the question: “*Did you see the diary?*” the appropriate answer had to have been an essential “*No!*”

As already mentioned, nobody commenting on the matter, whether in books or newspaper or periodical articles, in the century up to the recent present, noticed that merely typescripts alone were shown. That is a lot of failing to notice. It begs an explanation.

“In London it was shown to some of the signatories of the appeal for his reprieve. They, too, had been utterly incredulous, but were reduced to silence when they saw the photographed extracts. The photographs were shown to certain persons in court when the appeal was being heard...” (*Traitor or Patriot—The Life and Death of Roger Casement* (1931), p18, Denis Gwynn, American Edition).

“For those who doubted its inspiration there was provided a photographic copy of a specimen page of the indecent diary” (*The Forged Casement Diaries* (1936), p15, Dr W.J. Maloney).

ORIGIN OF THE BOUND VOLUMES

Anatomy of a Lie takes the notion that typescripts alone were shown and from this idea conceptualises how the bound volumes we have today at the British National Archives, Kew, originated. As typescripts alone are said to have been shown, it is concluded that the bound volumes did not exist at the time of Casement’s trial and appeal. That is, they were not shown as a consequence of their lack of existence, Rather it is said, they were concocted after Casement’s execution. As such, then, they could not have been written by Casement.

The above is quite an attractive proposition for forgery proponents who are tempted to seek an argument which neatly disposes of the Diaries and consigns them to oblivion. A problem has existed for forgery proponents down the years that anomalies and contradictions could be found in significant quantity among the various aspects of Casement Diary doctrine and scripture (and what scripture!), but none of these inconsistencies was quite so devastating, in itself and on its own, to definitively topple the whole edifice.

“This author believes that the diaries now held in TNA (The National Archives) were forged in their entirety after Casement’s death...” (*Anatomy of a Lie*, (2019) Pg 6).

He goes on to say: “...*the volumes could not be shown because they did not exist. Their non-existence made it necessary to prepare the typescripts as a temporary substitute so that the smear campaign could proceed*” (*Ibid*, p10).

RULES OF LOGIC

Science and technology have changed dramatically in the last hundred years and in turn they have changed how we live. The technology around communications has experienced revolution upon revolution. However, the nature of logic and its implicit rules have not moved one iota over the same time span. The rules of logic remain in July 2019 exactly where they were in July 1916, when extracts of what were purported to have been Casement’s personal diaries were been displayed to chosen individuals. From the vantage point of 2019 the author reads into the absence of anything but typescripts being shown (as he sees it) a revelation that no bound volumes could have existed at that time.

But if somebody can make such a deduction from the vantage point of 2019, then using the same set of facts and the same process of deduction (logic rules in 1916 assumed the same as today) people could have come to the same conclusion in 1916. So, assuming typescripts alone were shown in 1916, then there was a very real and present danger people would conclude the bound volumes did not exist. The Department of Naval Intelligence was the intelligence arm of the most powerful armed force of that age; the Royal Navy.

One would expect such an organisation to be aware of this threat to its defamation project. One would expect them to have every possibility and every threat covered. So, we would expect them to have taken measures so as to confirm the existence of the bound volumes in the minds of those they sought to persuade. We would expect them to have deployed material before the eyes of those they had chosen to convince which achieved this. This would have entailed showing the bound volumes themselves or, failing that, showing photographic representations of them. There is an old saying: *Seeing is believing*.

RISK OBVIOUS AND TOO GREAT

To have circulated typescripts without some credible visual representations to back up the contents would have been to invite failure. Suppose some person or persons, inspired by suspicion, demanded to see the handwritten originals. What if someone called their bluff? What then?

The Department of Naval Intelligence could not have afforded to be so reckless as to circulate typescripts without supporting handwritten originals. The risk was obvious and too great.

If they were backed up by what today are known as *photocopies*, the question arises as to how much of the typed material would need to be supported in such a way. When we consider the amount of trouble an incredulous and suspecting individual could cause those tasked with an underhand campaign of false witness; the answer has to be all of it.

A difficult individual could select various dates at random and ask to see corresponding handwritten originals. Failure to provide, at short notice, appropriate photocopies of handwritten originals would bring the vilification project unstuck.

If photographic representations corresponding to the typescripts needed to exist then something else needed to exist also; the handwritten matter to provide the photographic representations; the handwritten original bound volumes themselves.

It has been argued that there is no archival record of the handwritten originals being shown to anybody before Casement was executed and thus it is argued they did not exist at this time. However, this argument ignores the theoretical framework around the forging of the Diaries that has evolved gradually and cumulatively since the mid 1950s and which perceives the matter in terms

of a partial forgery. Looked at from this perspective, the authorities would have been loathe to show the originals to anybody at the crucial time for fear some astute and suspicious person might examine the pages under magnification and uncover smudging, indentation on the paper surface from erased writing or irregularities in ink pigmentation; all indications of forged erasure and interpolation.

Photostats (photocopies), as they were then known, being monochrome and lacking high definition, could be better relied upon not to reveal such incriminating detail.

So, failure to display the hand-written originals at the crucial time is perfectly in keeping with the scenario of forged interpolation.

PHOTOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATIONS

Do we have evidence that photographic representations of handwritten diary pages were circulated?

Shane Leslie had worked in the British Embassy in Washington during the Casement trial. He was a cousin of the Ambassador, Cecil Spring-Rice. Diary material was being circulated in Washington at the time.

“During his trial the alleged Diary (which has troubled Anglo-Irish relations for nearly half a century) was being handed about. Spring-Rice asked me to look at the photographed copies, but I declined. It was enough for me that John Quinn had recognized the handwriting. England gave him the Martyr’s crown” (*Long Shadows* (1966), p188—Shane Leslie).

John Quinn was a prominent Irish-American lawyer who had known Casement. He viewed photographic material at the British Embassy, Washington DC during August 1916, just a few weeks after Casement’s execution. Soon afterwards he wrote to George Gavan Duffy (Casement’s trial solicitor) describing how “the handwriting looked like” Casement’s. (NLI MS 17603)

According to a confidential telegram to the British naval attaché in Washington, Captain Guy Gaunt, June 29, 1916: “Photographic facsimile & transcript of Casement’s diary of which you have, no doubt, already heard is being sent to America by today’s mail. Person receiving it will communicate with you when it arrives” (Foreign Office Archive—TNA FO 395/43).

Could it be photographic copies of handwritten diary pages were shown in America alone but, because the British were more respectful towards authority and the Irish more credulous, it was

deemed only necessary to show typescripts on the eastern end of the Atlantic?

There is some reason to doubt this.

Admiral Sir William James published in 1955 a biography of Reginald Hall, Director of Naval Intelligence. Hall, according to James, had overseen the circulation of the Diaries. In the latter part of the Great War, some time after Casement’s execution, James had been Hall’s assistant. During the circulation of the diary materials, James had been in command of a ship on the high seas. What is important, though, is that Admiral James had worked closely with Hall in the wartime Intelligence field and so had the opportunity to get to know him well. As such, his revelations on Hall’s wartime activities have to carry some weight.

“Nevertheless type written copies of pages of the diaries and photographic representations of specimen pages were circulated in London clubs and the House of Commons and were seen by journalists who were known to be sympathetic to Casement and by the signatories of the appeal for Casement’s reprieve...” (*The Eyes of the Navy* (1955), p113—Admiral Sir William James)

Writing to Dr, Roger McHugh, academic and forgery proponent, Bulmer Hobson, who had been a very close friend of Casement, told how the then Solicitor General for Ireland in 1916, James O’Connor (later Sir James O’Connor), had attended the Casement trial. O’Connor had met Hobson about 1922 at the house of a friend. O’Connor had told how he had been surprised to have been approached by F.E. Smith, Prosecuting Counsel, and British Attorney General, after a trial session had been wound up. “He then handed O’Connor a photostat of a page of the indecent diary. O’Connor looked at it and handed it back...” (Hobson to McHugh, Nov 2, 1956, NLI MS 8638).

A MISREADING

Anatomy of a Lie, later in the text, again takes up the discussion about the use of photographs/photocopies. It claims the photographs shown were ones taken of typescripts as opposed to photographs taken of handwritten diary pages. It discusses the presentation of alleged evidence to the US Ambassador: “Proof that the photographs taken were photographs of the typescripts comes from HM government itself: ‘The Ambassador was given photographs of two passages from the typescript’ (*History of the Casement Diaries. March 1959 Working Party PRO HO 144/23481*). These were given by Thomson at the ambassador’s request...” (*Anatomy of a Lie*, (2019) p41)

This, however, is a misreading of the 1959 text of an internal Home Office document. If the civil servant writing really meant to convey the idea that the photographs were *OF* the typescript then that is what they would have written. As well, they would also have added in additional qualifying wording to avoid any ambiguity. So, the wording would have been something like: “two photographs of the typescript itself”. Instead the defining word related to the typescript is *FROM*. In the 1950s, before the dumbing down of education had got under way and when the study of the grammatically challenging classical languages of Latin and Greek was still well established in education, an appreciation of the grammatical relationship between words in a sentence and the implications for the meaning produced was something taken for granted.

Obviously what the quoted words meant was that the US Ambassador was provided with photographs of handwritten matter which corresponded with typescript passages.

The account given by the former Naval Intelligence colleague of Reginald Hall supports this view:

“It revealed (the Diary) that for some years Casement had been addicted to unnatural vices and had recorded his experiences in a diary. As some American newspapers were championing Casement, Thomson had some pages of the diary photographed and showed them to Dr Page, the American Ambassador...” (*The Eyes of the Navy* (1955), p113—Admiral Sir William James).

PLAUSIBLE FOUNDATION LACKING

When we weigh up what a plausible scenario for the circulation of the diary material would have entailed, we are forced to look askance at the notion of typescripts alone being shown. When we look at published material on the subject, we read of photographic reproductions of handwritten material also being shown around. This is true also for the archival record.

We have to conclude that the idea the furtive campaign was founded on typescript evidence alone is lacking a plausible foundation.

Yet, working from this unsupported premise, the author of *Anatomy of a Lie* builds a case for believing the handwritten bound volumes did not exist during Casement’s lifetime.

That does not stand up to closer examination.

Tim O’Sullivan

Banks and Money Creation

In Martin Dolphin's most recent article (*Irish Political Review*, July 2019) he describes two banks. Bank BA has shareholder funds of £300. The assets of £300 are described as "reserves" which in the context means money in the form of deposits held in the Central Bank.

Bank BB has reserves of £100 financed by £100 in shareholder funds.

Bank BA loans out £500 to customer CBA1. This is a rather daring move since the bank has only £300 in assets. If customer CBA1 spends his money immediately the bank has a shortfall of £200.

However, fortunately for the bank the customer doesn't spend the money immediately. So Martin accounts for the transaction as an addition of loans of £500 to the asset side of the balance sheet and what I can only describe as a provision for a reduction in reserves on the liability side. The money hasn't been spent yet or recorded as such by the Central Bank and therefore hasn't left the bank. This is presumably the justification for not immediately reducing the money reserves by £500 to minus £200.

But this can only be very temporary since borrowers don't borrow for the purposes of leaving the money in the bank; they borrow in order to spend. And in a modern electronic-based banking system the Central Bank's recording of transactions is almost instantaneous.

Martin's bank BB is even more reckless. It loans £400, but has only £100 in reserves. The bank accounts for this in a similar way to bank BA by creating a provision of £400 in the liability side of the balance sheet.

As things stand within a very short period of time Bank BA will have reserves of minus £200 and Bank BB minus £300. In other words they will be in the unenviable position of relying on funding from the Central Bank.

How does Martin rescue the situation? He makes two assumptions:

- 1) "...customer CBA1 uses his £500 to buy something from customer CBB2 of bank BB" and
- 2) "...customer CBB1 uses his £400 to buy something from customer CBA2 of bank BA."

This—if I might say so—is typical of Martin! He blithely slips in these new actors without spelling out the implications. He did the same in his May article. It is noteworthy that his coyness is always in respect of depositors.

Let us examine customers CBB2 and CBA2 in more detail. At the beginning of this process they have neither assets nor liabilities in the bank. Their balances are zero which is why they don't appear in the opening balance sheets of bank BA or BB. But they both have non-monetary assets.

Customers CBB2 and CBA2 have stock of £500 and £400 respectively. After selling their goods to customers CBA1 and CBB1 they deposit their sales receipts into banks BB and BA.

It is important to ponder this for a moment. CBB2 and CBA2 don't have to use the money to repay debts because they don't have debts. Nor do they spend it on food or clothing because these needs have already been taken care of. They are in the happy position of being able to deposit all of these receipts into the banks because they represent surplus funds over and above those required for their day to day needs. Furthermore, **it is precisely the existence of these surplus funds that enables the banks to expand their balance sheets.** In Martin's examples they are a **necessary condition** for the expansion of the banks' balance sheets.

Unbelievably Martin concludes his analysis by saying:

"...the balance sheets of the banks have expanded and the expansion is not dependent on them having loanable funds."

But this is just plain wrong. If Martin has any doubts on the matter all he has to do is look at the final balance sheets in his own article.

Bank BA has assets consisting of reserves of £200 and loans of £500. These assets are funded by shareholders funds of £300 and **the deposit of £400 made by customer CBA2.**

Bank BB has assets consisting of reserves of £200 and loans of £400. These assets are funded by shareholders funds of £100 and **the deposit of £500 made by customer CBB2.**

Commercial banks are financial intermediaries. They cannot create credit out of thin air. In all the thousands of words that Martin Dolphin has written in this series he hasn't adduced one piece of evidence to prove the contrary.

John Martin

Clarifying Money Creation

I think the bank lending scenario I presented in the July issue of *Irish Political Review* has served its purpose in clarifying the differences between John Martin and me. Before banks BA and BB make loans, their assets are £300 and £100 respectively (with corresponding liabilities). They then lend £500 and £400 with no matching loanable funds. This fact leads John to describe the lending as reckless. But the banks are assuming that they will both be creating bank money/credit out of thin air at roughly the same rate and so the bank money/credit created out of thin air by bank BB will fund BA's loan while the money/credit created out of thin air by BA will fund BB's loan. Banks BA and BB can perhaps be described as financial intermediaries of bank money created out of thin air.

After they lend and the loans are spent, the banks have assets of £700 and £600 respectively. I interpret this to mean that money/credit has been created out of thin air to the tune of £900.

What is critical in the scenario I describe is that both banks expand their lending at roughly the same rate. In his 1930 *Treatise on Money* Keynes argued that, in a society that did not use cash to settle transactions,

"...it is evident that there is no limit to the amount of bank money which banks can safely create *provided that they move forward in step*" (J.M. Keynes, *The Pure Theory of Money* (1930) p23).

The use of cash to settle transactions means that banks are limited in the amount of bank money they can create by the need to provide a certain percent of any loan in cash form. Taking account of this restriction Keynes summarised his views on bank money creation as follows:

"There can be no doubt that... all deposits are 'created' by the bank holding them. It is certainly not the case that the banks are limited to that kind of deposit, for the creation of which it is necessary that depositors should come on their own initiative bringing cash or cheques. But it is equally clear that the rate at which an individual bank creates deposits on its own initiative is subject to certain rules and limitation; - it must keep step with the other banks and cannot raise its own deposits relatively to the total deposits out of proportion to its quota of the banking business of the country. Finally, the 'pace' common to all the member banks

is governed by the aggregate of their reserve resources” (J.M. Keynes, *The Pure Theory of Money* (1930) pp 26).

But I feel that I am here merely repeating points made in earlier exchanges with John Martin—though with the help of an actual example. I feel the discussion has run its course. I leave it to readers to decide which account of bank money creation they find most realistic.

Martin Dolphin

Note By The Editor:

As no new arguments are being made in this debate, it is now closed.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Some Zionist Terrorism

I use the term “U.N. Persons” to mean persons serving the United Nations

The term “UNPERSON” originated in George Orwell’s “*Nineteen Eighty Four*”

Wikipedia explains—An UNPERSON is—

“Someone who has been vapourised, secretly murdered and erased from society, the present, the universe and existence. Such a person would be taken out of books and photographs so that no trace of them can be found. It is ‘thought crime’ to say an UNPERSON’S name.”

Swedish **Count Folke Bernadotte** was chosen by the United Nations Security Council to negotiate peace between Arabs and Zionists in Palestine.

French **Colonel Andre Serot** had served with distinction in both World Wars. In 1945 his wife had been deported to Germany. Count Bernadotte, who had already saved thousands of Jews from the Nazis, negotiated her release and he and Bernadotte became friends.

In 1948 Serot commanded French peacekeeping forces under United Nations Command in Palestine. On September 17 that year, unarmed he was travelling with

· Biteback · Biteback · Biteback · Biteback · Biteback · Biteback · Biteback · Biteback · Biteback

Letter in *Evening Echo* (Cork), July 23 2019:

History is vital, at the core of who we are

Dr Finola Doyle O’Neill is quite right about “*the importance of history and why Irish society will suffer from its loss as a core subject.*” (“History is now more important than ever”, July 8)

History is what has made us all, for good or ill and therefore the more we are aware of the facts of history the better for us individually and collectively.

There are fewer sadder sights than a person who has lost their memory. The same applies to a society. And that is the inevitable result of a loss of historical knowledge. Few subjects could be of more importance to younger people.

This is a world of ever increasing tensions and conflicts and each and every one of these can only be understood by the particular history of each.

The conflicts and tension arising from history are not in the past or of no concern to us. The consequences of Brexit alone make that clear to us.

Fortunately, Cork is blessed with many local history, heritage and voluntary groups who are doing great work in making our history and heritage relevant and interesting.

Members of a number of them are sponsoring a new West Cork History Forum that will be launched next month and will seek to be a focus for people to discuss and increase our understanding of history generally, but also of Cork in particular which has been the focus of much recent interest and controversy to historians.

Fóram Staire Iarthar Chorcaí:

The West Cork History Forum

will hold a public meeting on

Friday, August 9, at 7.30 p.m.

at the
West Cork Hotel,
Ilenn Street,
Skibbereen

Yours sincerely,

Pat Maloney, Editor,
Labour Comment,
Roman St., CORK

Bernadotte (who was always unarmed) and an unarmed escort of Israel soldiers, when they were stopped at a roadblock manned by a gang in Israeli uniform.

Bernadotte and Serot were shot dead by the gang, who were acting on the orders of a future Mossad leader, Yitzhak Shamir who served as Israeli Prime Minister from 1983-1984 and 1986-1992.

The murders took place in broad daylight in Jerusalem, rather than secretly

But in most of “THE FREE WORLD” its seats of government, of learning, and its media the former U.N. PERSONS are UNPERSONS as described by ORWELL.

Who will join me in ACCUSING named media—eg, THE TIMES, THE GUARDIAN, THE BBC of a conspiracy of VAPOURISING International Peacemakers and whitewashing their murderers?

Are there no ZOLAS to challenge political charlatans such as GORDON BROWN.?

“GORDON - ZOLA — SERIOUS ACCUSATIONS”

would make a good headline for any controversy, a controversy which would reveal a lot of stinkers.

Donal Kennedy

‘Constitutionalism’ And An O’Casey Song For A Collins Execution

Seán O’Casey penned quite a number of songs in protest against Britain’s 1914-18 Imperialist War against Germany, particularly targeting and lampooning John Redmond’s ‘Constitutional Movement’ that was supporting and recruiting cannon fodder for that War. But who today ever draws attention to the fact that these songs even existed?

How come that all those pundits, who wax lyrical about O’Casey’s critique of Connolly and the 1916 Rising, stay deadly silent on his anti-British verse? *Feather’s from the Green Crow: Seán O’Casey 1905-1925* was a volume edited by American academic Robert Hogan and published in 1963—but it has long since been out of print. Yet among the invaluable services performed by Hogan was his rescue of such marvellous O’Casey ballads from the archives. Most of them had been published by O’Casey himself in his 1918 collection entitled *Songs of the Wren*, and they represented a powerful propagandist contribution from him to the anti-Conscription campaign. As Hogan observed: “*The satiric songs frequently comment upon World War One, for O’Casey regarded Britain’s part in it and Britain’s attempt to recruit in Ireland with a cold and satiric eye*”.

O’Casey mocked both Redmond’s foolish belief in Britain’s Home Rule promise and the anti-German war hysteria, to which Redmondism itself had so passionately subscribed. And in *The Bonnie Bunch of Roses O!* O’Casey also went on to pay tribute to his executed sparring partner, James Connolly. For, notwithstanding the frequent clashes between them, it was Connolly himself who in January 1916 had published the best of O’Casey’s songs—*The Grand Oul’ Dame Britannia*—over the latter’s pseudonym of “*An Gall Fada*” (“the tall foreigner”). When O’Casey himself republished it himself, in his 1934 collection *Windfalls*, he wrote in his Preface:

“Finally came the crash of the guns in the Great War, and England’s hurried and agitated recruiting campaign in Ireland calling on Irishmen of goodwill to go out and fight for little Catholic Belgium. *The Grand Oul’ Dame Britannia* was written, printed as a ‘nix job’ by friendly printers,

and circulated among the various National Societies” (Hogan, p 131).

See http://free-magazines.atholbooks.org/ipr/2007/IPR_November_2007.pdf for a selection of six such anti-Redmondite “Songs against Sommetry” penned by O’Casey.

Prior to ‘*Songs of the Wren*’, and not included in that 1918 collection, there had also been a 1917 anti-Redmond song penned by O’Casey, whose first performance his biographer, Christopher Murray, related as follows:

“It was something of an occasion, held in the Empire Palace of Varieties (now the Olympia Theatre), Dublin, on Sunday, 25 November 1917. Proceeds were for ‘Necessitous Children and the Poor’. An advertisement prominently displayed in the programme announced that O’Casey’s ‘The Story of Thomas Ashe’ was ‘On Sale Everywhere’ ... O’Casey featured again, in offering with Michael Smyth a satirical song he had written with Fergus O’Connor but not published, ‘The Constitutional Movement Must Go On’. He and Smyth delivered it as Members of Parliament, in frock coats, top hats, gloves and, of course, boots. It mocked John Redmond’s Irish Party (the song title deriving from Redmond’s declaration after the 1916 Rising), and concluded topically:

‘But when Lloyd George will threaten Irish with conscription

We’ll stop him with our gas, led on by John

And the ‘Freeman’ will write a grand description

For the Constitutional movement must go on.

Chorus:

And on and on and on for ever more.’

Droll rather than hilarious, this was well received...” (‘*Seán O’Casey—Writer At Work*’, 2004, pp 110-111).

Just how well received it was, becoming part of Republican folk culture, is revealed in the recently published anti-revisionist history by Lorcan Collins, ‘*The War of Independence 1919-21—The IRA’s Guerrilla Campaign*’. The author relates an episode in the life of Michael Collins’s team of executioners, drawing on their Witness Statements to the Bureau of Military History:

“When the GPO and Four Courts garrisons surrendered in 1916, the Volunteers were held captive in the grounds of the Rotunda Hospital. A certain Captain Percival Lea-Wilson subjected the prisoners to a barrage of abuse and aimed his ire in particular at two signatories of the Proclamation, Thomas Clarke and Seán MacDiarmada. Frank Henderson, who had served under Clarke and MacDiarmada in the GPO, described Lea-Wilson’s action that night as ‘savage’. Liam Tobin, who... witnessed Lea-Wilson abusing his comrades, ‘registered a vow’ to himself that he ‘would deal with him at some time in the future’. After the First World War, Lea-Wilson left the British Army, rejoined the RIC and became District Inspector (DI) for Gorey. He appeared to be making life miserable for the local people including the IRA. Michael Collins’s Chief of Intelligence, Liam Tobin, and the Deputy Assistant Director of Intelligence, Frank Thornton, came down from Dublin on 12 June 1920 to shoot the DI. After three days in the company of three local IRA Volunteers they decided that the best time to shoot Lea-Wilson was in the morning, after he had collected his mail and newspaper from the 9.35 am Dublin train... On 15 June ... the two Intelligence men, together with Joe McMahon and Sean Whelan, waited for their quarry who ‘opened his newspaper and was reading its headlines as he walked towards the place of execution’. The ambushers fired a number of times... As they fled from the scene, Thornton started to sing a song written by Seán O’Casey, which mocked John Redmond, ‘The Constitutional Movement Must Go On’, and the rest of the men joined in the chorus” (p 115).

Whelan’s Witness Statement had indeed concluded:

“When the Inspector fell dead, about fifteen or twenty yards from our car, he must have been hit at least a dozen times, but just to make sure we hit him again as he lay stretched full length on the footpath. We left him his mails and gun to show it was an execution and not a hold-up. As we reloaded our guns ... we collected the Inspector’s morning paper—it was the ‘Irish Independent’. Thornton started to sing ‘The Constitutional Movement must go on and on and on for ever more’. We all joined in the chorus as we sped away...”

Just one example of the excellent use made by Lorcan Collins of BMH Witness Statements!

Manus O’Riordan

Europhile ?

The following remarks by *The Daily Telegraph's* premier columnist give a good insight into British attitudes on the Remain side of the Brexit debate. (John Major has threatened legal action to prevent the proroguing of Parliament, should MPs attempt to prevent a No Deal Brexit)

"Boris Johnson first entered my consciousness at an excruciating dinner just before the EU's Maastricht summit in late 1991. It was a revealing little episode in the march of Anglo-European history.

He had come over from Brussels after causing weeks of grief for Downing Street with volleys of journalistic dynamite. I was writing leaders on Europe at Telegraph HQ.

We were to meet the embattled Prime Minister John Major for peace talks at Brooks's, the 18th Century Whig club on Pall Mall, and the haunt of then Telegraph editor Max Hastings. The fifth man at the diner à cinq was Charles Moore.

Mr Major—as he then was—aimed to persuade us that he was not going to sign away the pound and lock Britain into a European proto-state. But his pitch was shockingly off colour. He swore profusely in a *faux* tirade of nationalism, cursing the amiable German Chancellor as "*that bastard*".

The Prime Minister would never yield to Johnny Foreigner. He banged the table so hard that the glasses almost crashed to the floor. As we left Boris shook his head in astonishment. "*That was a disgraceful spectacle*", he said.

John Major did resist Europe weeks later at Maastricht, "game, set and match" in his tennis parlance. What he did not understand—but a younger Jean-Claude Juncker grasped at once—is that by keeping Britain out of the great federalising project of monetary union he set the long fuse on Brexit.

Sir Ivan Rogers, the UK's first Brexit negotiator, told Parliament this month that Maastricht necessarily created an unstable equilibrium. A non-euro outsider would be in constant tension with an enterprise subject to monetary union's integration logic. This could not endure.

Sir Ivan told colleagues as early as 2006 that British withdrawal was coming. The rupture could have happened over the Lisbon Treaty—midwife of a European supreme court—or again over the Fiscal Compact. It does not really matter what finally precipitated Brexit. A bust-up was in the Aristotelean nature of things..."

(Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, 24.7.2019)

The following response to Eoghan Harris's *Sunday Independent* column of June 23rd was not published. (see <https://www.independent.ie/opinion/comment/eoghan-harris-love-island-is-better-than-the-loveless-ireland-of-the-past-38244436.html>)

'The Brigade'

I was astonished at the venom of newspaper columnist Eoghan Harris's criticism of RTE's *The Brigade* that re-enacted scenes from the War of Independence in Cork. It reprised Tom Barry's role and that of his IRA flying column. Mr Harris engaged in fantasy history and historical slander with no basis in fact. Typically, no evidence was produced to sustain Mr Harris's accusations of "tribal" sectarian attacks by the IRA and, a newly minted charge, "threatening lone Protestant women". Mr Harris must know the reason the IRA burned "beautiful big houses" of active loyalists in 1921. It was because the British were systematically destroying the often pitiful dwellings of suspected republicans. Then Brigade Major Bernard Montgomery summed up British attitudes, "it never bothered me a bit how many houses were burnt. I think I regarded all civilians as 'Shinners' and I never had any dealings with any of them". IRA counter-terror had its effect, the British were forced to halt their campaign. Perhaps Mr Harris is indifferent to the destruction of poor people's not so 'beautiful' houses? If so, he echoes the later remarks of the British Army's "Irish Command", "The inhabitants are mainly of the lower orders and were on the whole bitterly opposed to the Crown forces, the proportion of loyal forces being very small".

Mr Harris's assertion of lack of "editorial scrutiny" of *The Brigade* is laughable from the scriptwriter of *An Tost Fada*, a lamentable effort he again mentions. As RTE admitted, that programme failed to engage in elementary fact checking. I puzzled how the programme, that depicted the headstone of an informer shot by the IRA, could get his date of death wrong by a factor of 14 months. What happened was this: the victim's gravestone was illegible. The programme filmed instead a name and inscription on the headstone of a woman with the same name, who died in 1939. *An Tost Fada* was dead wrong because, for some, facts don't matter. Mr Harris bends them to suit the story he wants to tell. The best known modern exponent resides currently in the White House in Washington.

Mr Harris incessantly trots out the supposed virtues of *An Tost Fada*. "Trump that", he effectively states. Luckily, few other documentary makers, including those who made *The Brigade*, emulate Mr Harris's 'standards'.

Tom Cooper

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Does It Up

Stack ?

COMPUTERISATION OF TRANSPORT

There is a good case to be made for the States to regulate the use of computers in cars, vans, trucks, trains, aeroplanes and ships. Crashes are occurring and people are dying as a result of computer errors and failures.

A driver or pilot should have complete control and not, as at present, control by computer. Three out of four car breakdowns are now, in fact, computer failures. There are failures of the 'Engine Management System', or failure of 'sensors' or failure of 'navigation systems'. All forms of transportation had achieved a very high level of mechanical reliability by 1970 or 1980.

And then came computerisation and Global Positioning System (GPS) which the technophiles did not resist. Computers and GPS are very useful in their proper place but their use in transport vehicles should never have been permitted. They are very delicate systems physically and for that reason notoriously unreliable. It is very frustrating to experience a computer going down. Very frustrating when we are quiet safe at work or at home, but no one is dead. It is much more serious when the computer in a car or aeroplane goes down and it should just be totally unacceptable to have cars and aeroplanes and ships dependent on computers, which, if they go wrong, as they do, is likely to result in multiple deaths.

Let us ban such transportation computers before any more people die or suffer. Stress and suffering can be at an extreme level when a vehicle becomes undriveable due to computer failure. Stress, not only because of the helplessness of the breakdown incident but stress also from being endangered on the side of a busy road or street in a life-threatening situation and exposure to robbery and assault from opportunist passers-by.

Computerisation of transport is in a different class altogether from using a laptop at home or at work, indoors from the weather. Cars, buses, ships and planes are operating out in all sorts of weather and often in a very hostile environment where there is a wind-driven rain, spray, ice and humidity, all of which affect computers no matter how well they are protected.

Planes have fatally crashed due to sensors icing-up and the regulators just shrug it off as if computers are normal and have to be allowed for. They do not have to be allowed for.

If a car driver, or a ship's captain or an air

lane pilot causes an incident, the person involved is penalised and put off the road and deprived of their licence. Not so if "computer error" is at fault. There was even much sympathy for Boeing in the financial press when two of Boeing's Max aircraft crashed some months ago, killing hundreds of people. As if it is OK to kill hundreds of people by computer when big money is involved! Let us get a grip of ourselves.

Across the world thousands of drivers and passengers are left stranded every day by the malfunction of the computers they are driving. Surely it is time for Governments to stop the computerisation of transport. Do you still think you are driving a car? The following, fairly typical, extract from a Car Magazine may convince you otherwise as with key in hand you approach what you think is a "car".

"Q: Is there any way of setting the remotes without having to go to a dealer? (Querist had replaced the battery.)

A: The Jaguar XK8 is listed on Auto-data as requiring diagnostic equipment (a computer also) to reprogramme the keys, but there are two methods which I would try first before resorting to paying someone to code them for you. If the vehicle has a valet button in the centre console under the armrest, try this method:

Unlock the boot using the key and then turn on the ignition. The warning light on the dash should come on and then go out. When it had gone out, immediately lift the armrest to access the valet button and press the button five times within five seconds. The lights should flash and the horn should sound briefly. Press one of the buttons on the remote control. Turn off the ignition and test the remote for operation.

If the Jaguar does not have a valet button or if that method does not work, try this:

with the key out of the ignition, hold the headlamps stalk in the flash position so that the headlamps are on. Put the key into the ignition and turn it to the "accessory" position. Now release the stalk and flash the headlamps four times. The vehicle should enter programming mode and this will be indicated by a flash of the lights and a sound of the horn. Now press one of the buttons on each of the fobs to be programmed. You must use five presses, so as you have three fobs, press the button once on one and twice each of the other two. After five presses the vehicle will beep to confirm it is no longer in programming mode. Turn off the ignition and test the fobs." ('Car Mechanics', June 2019.)

After reading that it is difficult to think you are looking at a car in the traditional meaning of the word "car". Instead you are looking at a computer on wheels. Great for technophiles, but it is time to acknowledge it is deadly for everyone really.

Inside what looks like a car there are sensors everywhere and multiple little electric motors to do the bidding of the vehicle management modems.

This computerisation of transport is a completely separate project from the electric propulsion project. The push for electric propulsion is understandable if electricity is 100% 'green' in generation and transmission, which it is not in Ireland, but computerisation of transport is a totally different and much more serious issue.

Computerisation of transport should be internationally controlled and regulated.

As Sky News reported 26th July 2019, there was "a glitch in the Flight Control System" at Heathrow Airport, causing massive disruption to all those travelling for their holidays or work. But what does that phrase actually mean? Are the flight control systems hacked? Or are they affected by the weather (there is a heat-wave on in the UK and Europe). The resulting massive disruption to flights in and out of Heathrow Airport was caused by this so called "computer glitch" but surely more information should be shared if only to stay our fears about computerisation.

Michael Stack ©

ICTU continued

stances of Northern Ireland and the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement, in all its parts, remains paramount.

- that both Governments live up to their International obligations as set out in that agreement.

This means that:

- A 'No Deal Brexit' cannot be tolerated.
- The 'Backstop' must not be diluted.
- Any future actions taken as part of the UK Withdrawal cannot serve to undermine the Good Friday Agreement provisions in relation to rights equality and equality of citizens, rights underpinned by the Court of Justice of EU.
- There will be no 'race to the bottom' when it comes to workers' rights.
- A significant financial subvention must be available to assist workers where job losses occur directly arising from Brexit. Workers and their families on this island must not be forced to pay the price for Brexit.

Our members, our families, our communities, our all-island economy must not become collateral damage and as Trade Unionists, we will never allow workers to be sacrificed on the altar of political expediency.

Delegates—it has been said that climate change is the greatest challenge of our generation. In his most recent Address to the EPSU Conference held here in Dublin, President Higgins challenged the Trade Union movement to support a new eco-social political economy which emphasises the finite nature of the Earth's natural resources and the role rich nations must play in ameliorating this climate crisis.

Such a paradigm would advocate combining the concerns of domestic, international and intergenerational justice in a global equity framework. Public servants will be to the fore in developing and delivering this change programme, which in our view must protect the lowest income families. Congress has seized the opportunity to take a lead role in the development of a strategy for a 'just transition' for workers and communities to

ensure we are all part of a sustainable, low carbon economy and benefit from decent green jobs which were underpinned at our Energy Sector seminar in Tullamore.

Delegates—there have been attempts to blame the homelessness and housing crisis on migrants.

We reject any attempt to scapegoat migrants for the political failures to deal with the housing crisis.

Look around this country:

Pop up soup kitchens at the GPO.

Young men sleeping in cardboard boxes in Kildare Street.

Families dumped in hotel rooms and so-called family hubs.

These are scenes more reminiscent of Strumpet City than the brash image of our country which some of our political leaders seek to project.

The current Government housing policy has failed and should be abandoned.

The housing crisis is a stain on the record of this Government and is the source of great pain and anguish. Several professional reports, over recent months, have highlighted the strong negative effect such living conditions have on the lives of thousands of children.

Have we not learned the lessons of the Magdalen Laundries? The State yet again turns a blind eye to misery and

degradation and continues to ignore the truths that are so obvious about short-term solutions devoid of compassion or dignity.

As a movement, we have rejected the Government's approach.

It is why we, together with others, were the instigators of the '*Raise the Roof Campaign*'. That campaign is about reversing current Government housing policy and constructing the requisite public housing to provide a home for all.

The Irish Congress of Trade Unions advocates for a radical progressive vision for Ireland's economy and society. Now is the time to invest in our people, our public services, and our social infrastructure. This is the only way we can ensure our future prosperity in a sustainable and inclusive way.

We reject the philosophy of those who see workers are a mere commodity in the game of wealth creation.

Delegates—Together we can build on our proud tradition.

The battle for decent work is the defining struggle of our times. In asserting our right to decent work and decent pay we are laying the foundations for a better Ireland, an Ireland based on social solidarity, an Ireland, North and South, where workers are respected and every person is afforded equal rights in every aspect of their life.

(Conference held at
Trinity College, Dublin,
3 July 2019)

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Protestants And The War Of Independence

I note with regret and concern that Eoghan Harris has again alleged the Irish republican movement, under the administration of Dail Eireann from January 1919, engaged in sectarian acts against members of the Protestant community.

However, it is highly significant that Dail Eireann placed members of the Protestant faith in charge of land reform. Robert Barton, a British officer in charge of Irish prisoners during the 1916 Rising, was not only elected a TD for Wicklow in 1918 but also acted as minister for agriculture from August 1919. In that capacity he created a National Land Bank in December 1919 with the aim of helping Irish people acquire land and to improve their farms. Erskine Childers and Lionel Smith Gordon, both of the Protestant faith, were appointed directors of the bank.

Far from driving Protestants from the land, Irish republicans selected Protestants to be in charge of land reform.

I accept this toleration did not survive the Civil War: Protestants, who in the main supported the Treaty, were targeted by those who opposed it. They were discriminated against, however, not because of religion but politics. In the same way those Protestants who opposed the Treaty were confronted by the State. For example, when Erskine Childers was executed, in 1922, he was shot not as a Protestant but as an opponent of the Treaty.

Dr Brian P Murphy OSB,

Glenstal Abbey (Irish Independent, 21.7.19)

ICTU continued

companies and sectors, it is sometimes easy to underestimate the plight of those denied the human right to representation. Every month when we meet around the Executive Council table I am reminded of the plight of those who work for anti-union companies: in supermarkets, pharmacies, construction sites, in companies up and down the country where the right to be heard is denied.

However, after decades of conventional economic analysis promoting the virtues of deregulation and outsourcing, internationally at least, we appear to have reached a turning point in such discourse. The World Bank, OECD, the IMF—bodies not known for espousing socialist principles—are all championing inclusive growth. The World Bank says: “...it is clear that unions and collective bargaining have an equalising effect on earnings’ distributions”.

The IMF has declared that “*The decline in unionisation is related to the rise of top income shares and less redistribution.*”

Our own successive reports on CEO Pay in Ireland are a testimony to the unrestrained greed of those at the top: often the same people are the most vociferous in their calls for pay restraint for workers.

Delegates, let this conference mark the beginning of a renewed effort to secure the right to collective bargaining for all workers. As we know, collective bargaining is the most effective instrument to achieve more equal redistribution of wealth, to drive down inequality, to achieve gender pay equality, and without it there is no balance between capital and labour.

The International Community has long recognised that the right to organise and collectively bargain are fundamental principles of rights at work. While Ireland has committed to upholding these rights under a number of international conventions, it has failed to implement them in practice.

We need to put these workers’ rights at the centre of political discourse in Ireland, North, and South.

Creating a society that is more equal, where all work is decent, and jobs are fulfilling and well-paid will be both demanding and complex, but it remains

our core mission. Decent pay for decent work must be more than a catchphrase.

To achieve it, we set out in our policy document on collective bargaining, which we are launching at this Conference, that we should campaign vigorously for the adoption of an EU Directive to harmonise the laws of EU member States on Collective Bargaining and thereby establish the right to bargain in Irish Law. If adopted, the doctrine of supremacy of EU law would overcome any lingering doubt around the Constitutionality of any legislative initiative in this sphere.

We should also demand that our national law determines the right to collectively bargain:

- the right to Trade Union activism without penalisation, the right to organise,
- the right of access for Trade Unions, the right of access to key employer decision makers for the purpose of persuasion on behalf of our members and
- the right to reasonable time off to engage in representation and Trade Union training.

In most Western European countries bargaining takes place at the sectoral level. Here in Ireland legislation provides for sectoral bargaining of wages and conditions of employment in eight economic sectors. However, the practice has been subverted by a concerted effort by employers not to participate in the Joint Labour Committees. This employer veto needs to be overcome and addressed by legislative amendment. This would enhance collective bargaining coverage to some of the most vulnerable workers in our labour market and would underpin the role of our movement in determining decent work across the economy.

Delegates, as we know, Brexit was the consequence of narrow, self-obsessed nationalism based on the debased values of free market economics which places no value on human dignity or the concept of global solidarity.

It has the capacity to gravely damage our island economically, socially and politically.

There is no doubt that the Republic of Ireland, as a member of the EU, will experience some strong negative economic consequences, considering its current close trading relationship with the UK.

This could include high levels of job loss in particular sectors and locations. The scale of the Brexit effect will depend on the future trading relationship agreed between the parties into the future.

However, the situation regarding Northern Ireland is far more complex and could be very bleak.

The Belfast/Good Friday Agreement provides for the protection of the Civil and Human Rights of the citizens of Northern Ireland and further obliges both Governments to take no action that could undermine the economic and social well-being of the region into the future.

Northern Ireland’s societal fabric is fragile and sometimes unstable. If we needed a reminder of that fragility it may be found in the murder of Lyra McKee, a young working journalist, equality campaigner and proud Trade Union member. The response to her murder speaks of hunger for political leadership which can no longer be ignored.

For the past two years, there has been no functioning Assembly or Government in NI. Apart from the provision of public services, its economic activity is largely driven by small businesses heavily reliant on cross-border trade. One senior NI official has described the ‘no deal’ Brexit scenario as akin to a blockade of the Northern Ireland economy, where disruption would be severe and economic and social effects profound and lasting.

We are right to be concerned at the possibility of the re-instigation of the border on the island of Ireland.

This would be a highly regressive step.

We must be equally adamant that we avoid a border within the UK, between Britain and Northern Ireland and any economic border between these islands. We are fully committed to the principle of consent enshrined in the Good Friday Agreement in terms of the constitutional position of Northern Ireland.

For all these reasons the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, has supported the Withdrawal Agreement which includes the current ‘Backstop Arrangements’. In the months ahead Congress will be focussed on ensuring:

- that protecting the particular circum-

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LABOUR

Comment

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Address to Biennial Delegate Conference Irish Congress of Trade Unions By

Patricia King

General Secretary

We meet for the first time in many years in Dublin. The last time the Biennial Delegate Conference was held in the capital was in 1988.

It's fitting that we meet in the heart of this proud city. All around us—in all directions, are reminders of our history. We gather only a stone's throw from Liberty Hall, the birthplace of the Irish Trade Union movement; from the magnificent statue of James Larkin on O'Connell Street and from the Rosie Hackett bridge, a reminder of the often neglected role played by women in the struggle for workers' rights

This is the city of the 1913 Lock Out which marked a watershed in Irish Labour history, where the principle of Trade Union action and workers solidarity was firmly asserted.

Two years ago, in Belfast, we were reminded of the importance of that city in the history of the Trade Union movement.

This week, as we debate the enormous challenges which confront us in a hostile climate, nationally and internationally, we can draw inspiration from our strong history and legacy.

All of you, the men and women of the Irish labour movement from across this island, are custodians of our great tradition. The labour movement draws its strength from its collectivity and solidarity in the workplace.

Every day, in factories, shops, offices, in companies large and small, in State agencies and multinational conglomerates,

Trade Union officials, Shop Stewards, Workplace Representatives, and Trade Union members live out the principles of Larkin and Connolly.

It would be easy in depressing times to become despondent but reviewing the past two years, through our biennial report, the Trade Union movement can be proud of its achievements.

Over the past two years pay increases have been negotiated across the Public and Private Sectors, although we have to very mindful that 1: 5 workers in our labour market are low paid and have not seen any sign of the much-vaunted recovery.

The *Employment (Misc Provisions Act) 2018* has been enacted and in many ways responded to the brave struggle of Dunnes Stores workers for dignity and fairness at work. Although our campaign is ongoing in relation to

Bogus Self Employment, we have a road to travel to achieve our ultimate goal.

Following our seven-year campaign, the reduced VAT rate for the hospitality sector was abolished. Despite the weeping and wailing of employers in the Sector, the much-heralded doomsday has yet to transpire.

Agreement on a collective bargaining process in Ryanair followed on from an arduous and lengthy campaign by these workers over decades and I salute them for their tenacity and bravery.

Most significantly, we have reversed the trend of the decline in Private Sector Trade Union membership, underscored by recent CSO figures. Consequent on years of structural change, strong investment by individual affiliate unions, and the very hard work of our community of Trade Union organisers, we are now progressing on a positive trajectory.

What makes these achievements all the more remarkable is the fact that they have been realised against the backdrop of strong political resistance and within the constraints of a legislative framework designed to deny workers the right to be heard, to be collectively represented and to be treated with fairness, dignity, and respect.

But what we have managed to achieve against great odds and in the teeth of enormous resistance is a reminder of what is entirely possible when we unite with a common purpose.

For those working in unionised

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